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The Shape of Things

NOW THAT THE SMOKE HAS CLEARED AWAY, it is perfectly obvious that in the Smith-Molotov skirmish we lost an important battle of the cold war. In an unbelievable display of ineptness, we put ourselves in a poor light with the people of Europe and of the United States, who dread a hot war. This is a grave enough charge and one on which the country might well demand Secretary Marshall's scalp. But it is unjust, we think, to add to the indictment the even graver charge that the Administration is wilfully rejecting an olive branch held out in good faith by the Russians. It is quite possible that the Smith note was primarily a warning to the Soviet government not to count on a change of policy on our part either because of the approaching election or the prospect of an economic crisis—an effort, that is, to check the Russians from going too far in Berlin, Vienna, or anywhere else in the mistaken belief that circumstances would compel our acceptance. The accompanying assurance that the door was open "for discussion and settlement of our differences" may have been no more than a diplomatic courtesy and a declaration of the absence of any belligerent intentions on our part. If so, to have left the impression that we were inviting bilateral talks, or even the possibility that the Russians could so distort our intention, was certainly a blunder of the first magnitude. So was our failure to apprise the Western European powers of the move we were about to make. But neither of them approached the ineptness with which we met Molotov's shrewd countermaneuver.

*

BY CHURLISHLY DENYING THAT PEACE talks were intended—as though they were unthinkable—we played directly into the hands of the Soviet propagandists. The Russian people, as nervous as any other over the menace of war, will be the more likely to absolve their government of any suspicion of courting trouble and to intensify their suspicions of the United States. Elsewhere in Europe, we have surely achieved this same result in some quarters and in others aroused the fear that we intended to pull off a secret deal with the Russians at the expense of our remaining erstwhile allies. If the whole muddled episode is not to leave Soviet-American relations more embittered than ever, both sides will have to indicate a real desire for cooperation at various sore spots. As a starter, the Russians might call off their campaign to drive the Western powers out of Berlin, and the United States might use its controlling position in Greece to put an end to the atrocious mass executions to which the government seems to have resorted out of failure to subdue the guerrillas. A few such concrete tokens of good intentions would go far toward paving the way for bilateral talks on strictly Soviet-American problems. Only with the success of such talks will it be reasonable to expect an easing of Russian recalcitrance in the United Nations or in the Council of Foreign Ministers.

*

DOMESTIC POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS OF the curious Smith-Molotov exchange of views are considerably less important than its international implications, but they are obviously worth noting. Present indications are that our hapless President has lost the best chance he still had of returning to popular favor. Had he treated the Russian reply with a minimum of statesmanship, he would have been credited with an enormous diplomatic victory. He would have been able to claim, as the fruit of his policies, an about-face on the part of the stubborn Russians that the world was longing to see. So great was the potential victory that his Republican opponents seemed momentarily stunned. None belittled the achievement when the Moscow radio broke the news, and Governor Dewey, calling it "the best news since V-J Day," tried to get his party a slice of the credit on the ground that it had prodded the Administration into adopting a successful policy. Having allowed himself to be maneuvered into dousing the peace hopes of the world, however, Mr. Truman can hardly expect to take credit for bringing the Russians around. Politically, the net result of the episode can only be that Henry Wallace will garner the votes of those who accuse the President of bad faith, while the Republicans will get the votes of those who charge him merely with inanity.

A Right Secured

An analysis of the epochal Supreme Court decision upsetting the racially restrictive covenant, by Loren Miller, a Los Angeles lawyer who helped prepare and argue the race-restriction cases.

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HOW LITTLE THE PRESIDENT CAN SPARE such good will as he still claims was made shockingly clear at the fund-raising dinner of the New York State Democratic Committee. Normally, this is the sort of affair at which every mention of the head of the party is greeted with cheers, whistles, a blare of trumpets, and dancing in the aisles. But at this unique party dinner, ten speeches were made and the President's name was not so much as uttered in any one of them. One speaker, referring to him by title, commended him for having "the courage of his convictions," but the tribute drew only a polite flutter of applause. College students picketed the dinner with pleas for the nomination of Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, but such warmth as the affair provided seemed to be reserved for New York's Mayor William O'Dwyer. Two days later, the Mayor addressed a convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, at which the silent treatment was again accorded the President. Dozens of speakers, including Phil Murray and the Mayor, discussed the political situation and stirred the convention with the names of Roosevelt, Lehman, and Al Smith. But no one mentioned Mr. Truman until His Honor, at a press conference, pointedly indicated that he had given up all hope and interest in the President's campaign for renomination. With this sentiment prevalent in the North and no sign that the Southern rebellion is waning, Truman strategists take comfort only from the thought that their candidate's fortunes must improve because they can go no lower. The quick recognition of Israel, discussed elsewhere in these pages, gives at least some substance to their hopes.

*

A GLANCE AT THE FIRST-QUARTER REPORTS of corporation profits explains the recent boom in oil stocks. While all companies except grain processors and utilities report spectacular gains over the spectacular year of 1947, the oil companies are reaping the richest harvest. Here, for instance, are the first-quarter profits of two major oil companies as against two major manufacturers:

	1947	*1948*	*Percentage Increase*
General Motors	$60,793,000	$96,481,000	59
General Electric	17,918,000	25,389,000	42
Shell Union Oil	10,900,000	29,000,000	166
Union Oil	3,500,000	7,800,000	120

These are not isolated cases. *Business Week* has reported that the oil companies are "riding a flood tide of prosperity" due to their current tremendous volume of business. Phillips Petroleum profits for this first quarter are about treble those for the comparable period in 1947; Standard Oil of Ohio's are double; the average of about thirty companies which have made first-quarter reports to date is from 115 to 120 per cent over last year. And

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last year, oil industry profits—approximately $1,250,000,000—were nearly double those of the previous high-water mark in 1946. The industry in 1948, in fact, will make *twice as much in each quarter as in all of 1939!* And this estimate is subject to upward revision since oil is notorious for its practice of keeping certain profits out of its published reports. At any rate, oil profits are now running at better than 25 per cent of investment, after taxes. Prices could be cut 15 to 20 per cent on each sales dollar, and the profits would still be huge.

*

REPRESENTATIVE CLARE E. HOFFMAN'S proposal to jail Cabinet officers who refuse to comply with Congressional demands for information is the climax of a virulent campaign by the lunatic fringe of the House. Throughout the Roosevelt era, it was considered good tactics and better publicity to belabor the Administration for harboring "reds," while Congressional committees bravely bore the brunt of exposing them. With establishment of the current "loyalty" procedures, the professional heresy-hunters on the Hill stood to lose a perennial issue, lots of lurid headlines, and a general good time at public expense. If these perquisites were to be saved, it would be necessary for Congressmen to have access to the loyalty files. The flat refusal of Mr. Truman to allow such material to leave the executive branch has accordingly stung some of these Congressmen into unprecedented rashness. To get around the government's contention that publication of the loyalty files would greatly hamper the gathering of information, Mr. Hoffman first proposed to provide jail penalties for newspapermen, among others, who revealed such confidential material to the public; the Congressional committees themselves were to decide what was and what was not confidential. Now that this menacing provision, blasted by the most conservative papers, has had to be dropped, Mr. Hoffman and his colleagues are ready to try brute force. Cabinet officers will either come across or go to jail. We look to the Senate to show better sense. If not, we can only hope the Supreme Court will give Congress a lesson in the constitutional principle known as the separation of powers.

*

WHILE WE REJECT THE INTENT OF SENATORS Russell and Maybank in adding a Jim Crow amendment to the draft-U. M. T. bill, this flower from a southern garden could be cultivated to bear fruit strange to their taste. In saying this, we find ourselves, oddly enough, a few paces to the right of the New York *Herald Tribune,* which damned the amendment as a "pernicious clause" compelling segregation by law. But the proposal, which would allow any soldier to make written request for assignment to a unit wholly of his own race, logically presupposes an army that is basically non-discriminatory. Such an army, we need hardly say, does not now exist in the United States, although President Truman some months ago directed Mr. Forrestal to discharge Jim Crow from the services. A large percentage of any new American army would choose democracy—we recall the repeated demands for volunteer mixed units, during the war—and a far larger percentage, not taking the trouble to make a choice, would, under the Russell-Maybank plan, automatically go into mixed units. As for the others, theirs would be the burden of taking the initiative in favor of prejudice. The amendment, then, might offer the most realistic means of segregating those die-hard racists who would only become trouble-makers in mixed units.

*

THE SELECTION OF CHAIM WEIZMANN AS President of the Council of Government of Israel is no less welcome because it was so generally expected. Dr. Weizmann has not only led the fight for the Jewish homeland through all the years of struggle and disappointment; he is also one of the world's very few great statesmen. No other Zionist leader has stood so consistently for moderation, for peace, and for the development of Palestine as a land in which Arabs and Jews would share alike in the benefits of democracy and social progress. His choice as president is a solid guarantee of the high aims proclaimed by the new Jewish state.

Another Ghost Walks

NOT least among the inauspicious signs of Republican victory next November is the fight of the protectionist lobby and high-tariff members of Congress against renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, which will automatically expire June 12 unless Congress extends it.

It is unnecessary to repeat at this late date the many sound arguments in favor of the foreign-trade policy embodied in this act, which first became law in 1934 and has been periodically renewed ever since. But in recent years, new and even more impelling reasons for retaining it have been added. During the war, many controls of trade and currency had to be enforced. It was uncertain whether other nations would ever be won back to the gradual removal of obstructions to international commerce. On the insistence of the United States, pledges to to do so were included in every fundamental agreement on which the post-war economy is supposed to be built, including the lend-lease agreement with Britain, the British loan agreement, the charters of the World Monetary Fund and the International Bank, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade made last year in Geneva, and the European Recovery Program itself. The new and as

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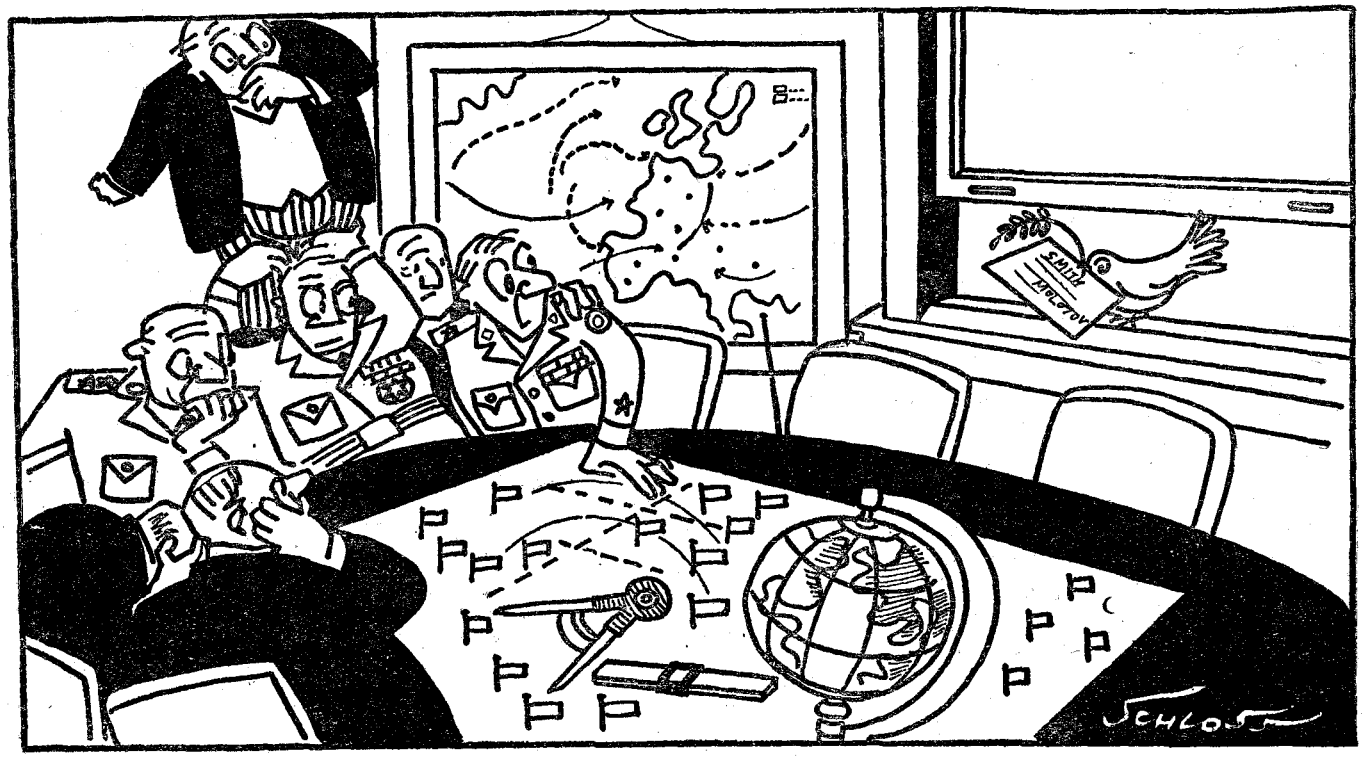
yet unratified charter of the International Trade Organization recently negotiated at Havana is founded on the same policy.

The only possible alternative is a system of planned international trade—planned either on a world scale or nation by nation. It is difficult to imagine a Republican President and Congress agreeing to a world authority to allocate interchange of goods and services. The control of foreign trade by single nations or blocs of nations means retention of exchange restrictions, quotas, bilateral agreements, and all the other obstructions and discriminations which throttled commerce in the depressed 1930's and had to be resorted to for temporary war purposes. Other nations will certainly be unable to dispense with such controls if the United States turns its back on its own policy and threatens to raise duties and limit its foreign buying. The whole intricate structure designed for freeing and unifying the economy of the world would collapse. The billions of dollars invested in world recovery by the American people would be imperiled, not to speak of recovery and peace itself.

Various substitutes for the present law have been suggested by its opponents. One is substantially the same as the Tariff Commission which was supposed to adjust duties under the Fordney-McCumber act of 1922—a commission which made hardly a reduction and was merely a disguise for protectionism. Another is to require Congressional ratification of new trade treaties—a chance for tariff lobbies and a warning that virtually no reductions may be expected in the future. As a matter of fact, if Congress fails to extend the present law, it will not have time to consider and enact a substitute before the election. The way would be left open for a general Congressional revision of the old-fashioned kind, plundering the consumer at the expense of favored interests and embodying mutual back-scratching of monopolies and near-monopolies. It is difficult to escape the suspicion that this is exactly what the opponents of the reciprocal-treaties law have in mind.

To suggest upward revision of duties at a time of full employment, the largest profits ever known, and a soaring cost of living is wanton folly. Whatever else tariffs may do or not do, they certainly tend to raise prices when demand exceeds supply. If the industries which want higher duties fear foreign competition in some future depression, they should be reminded that the Smoot-Hawley act, with the highest protection in history, was passed in 1930, and that it was followed by the most disastrous years of depression on record.

The great majority of American farmers and industrial workers are in occupations which could not in any case benefit from protection and have nothing to fear from foreign competition. The battle against the old short-sighted policy of economic nationalism was fought and won in 1934, and this decision has been confirmed on several occasions since then, when the law has been re-enacted. The fact that the ghost is rising from the grave is no credit to the Republican majority in Congress. Unless the responsible leaders of that party promptly exorcise it, they will deserve the condemnation, not only of their traditional opponents, but of many of the groups on whose support they must rely.



WHO LEFT THAT WINDOW OPEN?

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America and Israel

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE abrupt reversal of policy that produced de facto American recognition of the state of Israel within minutes after the end of the British mandate was undoubtedly a maneuver hastily devised to get in ahead of the Russians. Later Administration claims that the decision had been made soberly, some time in advance, are amply disqualified by the confessed astonishment and dismay of the American delegates in the U. N. Assembly when they heard the news; in any case, to have decided earlier and then deliberately withheld the decision from its own representatives would have been even more fantastic than a mere improvisation.

But questions of method and motive fade in the light of the fact: American recognition if followed by its logical consequences offers the new Jewish state—born fighting and baptized with Arab bombs—its one good hope of peace and survival. For this reason friends of Israel, and of a decent policy in the Middle East generally, will temper their criticism with thankfulness.

Until the United States acted, the omens were almost all bad. The Jews issued their declaration of independence—a solemn and lofty document—at Tel Aviv, while the Haganah fought desperately to recapture the road to Jerusalem. On three frontiers the Arab states were waiting to attack the moment the mandate should end. At Lake Success the Americans were arguing the lost case for trusteeship and attempting to secure the appointment of a high commissioner who would supersede the U. N. Commission and seek agreement on the "future government" of Palestine; in other words, our delegation was still trying to rescind partition when, like a bomb exploding in the Assembly, word came of American recognition.

The total effect of this latest and most sensational about-face is yet to be measured. The first reaction in London and Moscow and even less "sensitive" areas was understandably one of irritation. How can a nation that reverses its position without warning expect to be taken seriously? How absurd to go back on everything our delegates were solemnly advocating! In view of its own undeviating support of partition, Russia in particular must have looked upon our performance as a rather barefaced bit of sharp practice. But the fact remains that, by returning to our original position, we have again aligned ourselves with Russia on the Palestine issue and opened the way, however slightly, for a new effort at agreement in the Middle East. As for Britain, its chief emotion for the moment will be one of mingled bitterness and relief. With its mission in Palestine ended in bloody failure, its best earlier endeavors buried under the hatred of the past three years, official Britain feels abused, and America's action is regarded as final evidence of our well-known irresponsibility. "All right, it's up to Washington now; let them try to make peace in Palestine for a change; as for us we'll wait and see." Such is London's present mood.

And in fact it is up to Washington. The United States sponsored partition and then abandoned it. Now that the Jews, with unbelievable courage and persistence, have established partition by force of arms, the least this government can do is to provide the help that will give substance to its hasty gesture. To recognize the de facto Jewish state and leave the matter there would be a brazen admission that the action was nothing more than a tactical trick.

Most Americans will realize that it was something more than that. The haste may have been tactics; recognition itself represented strong opinion in and out of the White House. The truth is, as this journal has reported week after week, President Truman and some of his close advisers favored partition right along but were overborne by the military-financial interests on the other side. In the presence of those interests, Mr. Truman loses confidence in his own convictions. He is afraid of being charged with putting sentiment—or politics—ahead of security. But he has come to understand, slowly, that these people are not infallible; he has learned a great deal in recent weeks about British maneuvers in Palestine against partition (the documents published by *The Nation* two weeks ago are known to have opened the eyes of several important Administration officials); in addition to everything else, he has learned the full measure of the political penalty he would have to pay for his own vacillation. The steady pressure of liberal opinion was a heavy factor in bringing him around. And when the Jews showed that they were able to launch their new state without benefit of U. N. or U. S., recognition became certain.

But recognition of the new state will have to be filled in with concrete acts before it becomes a policy. Our government should sponsor the early admission of Israel to the United Nations. We should urge immediate action by the Security Council to check the open aggression of the Arab states. On the pretext of moving into the "vacuum" left by the British in order to prevent chaos and end Jewish "terror," Egyptian planes are bombing Tel Aviv. Their army has crossed the border. Contingents of the Arab Legion have occupied prepared positions under the direct orders of King Abdullah. The Arab League, whose members with the exception of Transjordan are all members of the United Nations, has declared war on Israel.

For this hateful consequence the United Nations and the United States are largely responsible. Certainly, no duty could be plainer than the duty to declare the Arab states aggressors and apply sanctions against them if

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they refuse to withdraw and give up the fight. It will be said that, lacking a police force, the U. N. cannot act effectively. This is not a fact. Economic sanctions applied firmly to the Arab states would probably be enough to end their aggression. Their dependence on the West for arms and financial support is almost complete. At the very least, the Security Council could direct members of the United Nations to embargo shipments of arms to the offending states and supply them to Israel. If military sanctions should be necessary to check actual aggression, a token force could be assembled rapidly from forces available in Europe and the Mediterranean. All that is needed is the will to act.

But again, as in December, the initiative will have to come from the United States. Our recognition of the Jewish state scuttled our own futile efforts to find some other solution; it is up to us to move with equal energy to stop the Arab invasion and give Israel a chance to bring peace and progress to the old land of Palestine.

The Congress of Europe

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Hague, May 11

THE organizers of the Congress of Europe, which closed a four-day meeting last night, had cast nets far and wide and, despite a boycott by the official Socialist machines of Western Europe, obtained a large and varied catch of delegates. In the magnificent vaulted Knights' Hall of the Dutch Parliament buildings were big fish and small, conservatives and left-wingers, politicians, professors, and poets, trade-union leaders and business tycoons—representatives of almost every shade of opinion except communism. In view of this variety it was a minor miracle that the two major resolutions put before the Congress passed unanimously.

Some of the elements present did not mix easily. One group of delegates wanted a European union as an essential step in the economic and moral recovery of the Continent; another group's enthusiasm for union was a by-product of hatred and fear of Russia. Since the Congress was originally inspired by Churchill, who was its "President of Honor," a triumph for the second group might have been expected. In the event, however, it was the genuine federalists, mainly Socialists and liberals, who influenced the drafting of the resolutions.

Churchill himself, in both his opening address and his speech at the mass-meeting in Amsterdam on May 9, was relatively restrained. He had promised the British Laborites to soften his attacks on Russia and stress the positive side of the United Europe idea, and although he couldn't refrain from some jabs at totalitarian communism, he was less provocative than usual. Even so, it is doubtful whether he did anything to remove Soviet suspicion of the whole affair; in fact, his declaration that a United Europe should include the Eastern as well as the Western states will certainly be regarded in Moscow as an intention to trespass on its territory. This feature of Churchill's speech was underlined by the efforts of some of his followers to build up political exiles from the East. Originally these men were invited as observers, but Duncan Sandys, Churchill's son-in-law and his chief lieutenant at the Congress, succeeded in rushing through a resolution giving them the status of full-fledged delegates. Many exiles are genuine democrats, but in their ranks are also some very suspect characters, such as Hjalmar Procope, former Finnish Minister in Washington and Foreign Minister during the period when Finland was an ally of Hitler.

It was a shock, too, to find Prieto on the rostrum at yesterday morning's session and speaking for Spain. Together with Salvador de Madariaga, whose equivocal position during the fight against Franco will be remembered, he had been invited to represent Spanish democracy. I asked one of the Congress officials, "How come? Why didn't you invite Negrín?" I got no satisfactory answer, but I have learned that actually Negrín asked if he might attend and was denied admission when Prieto and Madariaga declared that if he came they would walk out.

Such shenanigans leave a bad taste, but it would be a mistake to condemn the whole work of the conference on that account. As a long-time believer in the principle of European union, I attach greater importance to the fact that the congress firmly grasped the nettle of sovereignty. The political resolution declared that "the time has come when European nations must transfer and merge some portion of their sovereign rights so as to secure common political and economic action for the integration and proper development of their common resources." This wording was considered much too strong by some delegates, and in the drafting committee an attempt was made to substitute the ambiguous phrase "joint exercise of sovereignty" for the reference to merging sovereignty. This was strongly opposed by R. W. G. Mackay, M. P., Labor chairman of the British branch of the European Parliamentary Union, who urged the point that a real integration of Europe could not be achieved on the basis of an alliance of fully sovereign states. Progress, he said, was dependent on the definite transfer of sovereignty in such matters as foreign affairs, defense, currency, and broad economic planning. In the first vote on this clause considerable confusion prevailed, and the chairman announced a tie; in the second British Conservatives, faced by a threat to withdraw on the part of British Laborites, abstained, and the stronger version of the federalists was carried by a large majority.

As the next step the political resolution demanded the early convening "of a European Assembly chosen by

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the parliaments of participating nations," designed among other things "to advise upon immediate practical measures" to bring about the necessary economic and political union of Europe. Neither this proposal nor that for the merging of sovereignties is in any way binding on governments, since the congress is quite unofficial. Nevertheless, in their discussions of joint action the nations of Western Europe have reached a point where they cannot stand still. Unless the Brussels agreements are widened so as to make possible much larger measures of economic planning, the pact will be little more than an old-fashioned military alliance. But for these, at least, some surrender of sovereignty by the several powers is essential, and hints recently dropped by Cripps and other British ministers suggest that it is definitely contemplated.

Stassen vs. Dewey—Second Round

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Portland, Ore., May 14

TOM DEWEY, who was "too busy" a few months ago to accept an invitation from Senator Wayne Morse to speak in Oregon, isn't "too busy" any more. New York's pressing governmental business, which long kept him from commenting on troublesome national issues, does not seem to be so pressing at the moment. Indeed, the governor of a state with forty-seven electoral votes and ninety-seven delegates to the Republican National Convention is spending three strenuous and frantic weeks campaigning in a state with only six electoral votes and a mere dozen convention delegates.

Oregon's primary election on May 21 is Armageddon for Dewey. He must win or abandon the ambition he has nurtured for at least a decade—the ambition to become President of the United States. By deed if not by word Dewey reveals he has no doubt that this is the showdown. If he loses to the rambunctious Harold Stassen, his stake in the Presidential struggle will have only a salvage value.

Dewey can hardly put forward in Oregon the excuses which his adherents have used to explain his defeats in the Middle West. He lost in Wisconsin because he was "too busy" to campaign. He lost in Nebraska because Nebraska is so close to Minnesota. But in Oregon he is speaking at least two hundred times; he is stumping the state from the sagebrush desert to the sea. And Oregon is 1,800 miles from St. Paul.

The thoroughness of Dewey's campaign is epitomized by the remark of a C. I. O. logger on the timbered slopes of the Mount Hood watershed. "I haven't seen hide nor hair of the folks running for governor of Oregon," he said, "but, by golly, I've seen the governor of New York!" Dewey actually is conducting a more intensive campaign than are the aspirants for Congress and state and county offices. No hamlet is too small or too isolated for him to visit; no hamburger stand too shabby or greasy for him to stride into and shake hands all around; no shenanigans are too corny for him.

Dewey is initiated into the Coos Bay Pirates and writes his name in blood for the Grant's Pass Cavemen. He climbs a load of logs for the sawmill workers and autographs innumerable chits of paper for bobby-soxers who won't be voting for half a dozen years. The preoccupations which limited his comments to the national game of baseball are far from his mind as his caravan rolls through Oregon's fir forests and upland deserts.

Estimates on what Dewey is spending in Oregon vary all the way from $50,000 to three times that amount. In any case, he probably will set a new record for primary-election disbursements in the state. He has bought great chunks of radio time; his appeals cover newspaper pages —in one day the *Oregonian* carried no fewer than five Dewey ads. A copy-desk worker observed, "If all Dewey's publicity men vote for him, he'll have a sizable start right there!"

Stassen has some local backers with respectable exchequers, too. In recent weeks his finance committee has benefited by the acquisition of Henry L. Corbett, a director of the Southern Pacific Railroad; John Zehntbauer, president of the famous Jantzen Knitting Mills; Orville Miller, president of the powerful West Coast Lumbermen's Association; and Ted R. Gamble, the millionaire movie-chain operator who managed the Treasury's war-time savings-bond campaign. The finance committee of neither candidate bristles with proletarian figures. However, the Stassen brigade is somewhat more appealing. Its latest recruit, for example, is Ernest B. MacNaughton, the Portland banker who astounded his colleagues last year by telling a state C. I. O. convention that the hasty removal of price controls had damaged the nation's economy.

Only one issue thus far in the campaign has been squarely joined. Stassen advocates outlawing the Communist Party in America. Dewey contends this would neither check communism nor conform to the Bill of

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Rights. Most Republican liberals agree with Dewey but are supporting Stassen. The anomaly seems to stem from the somewhat nebulous belief—or perhaps hope—that Stassen is a man in the Willkie tradition. Willkie was popular in Oregon. His running-mate, the late Senator Charles McNary, came from this state. Oregon's Republican national committeeman, Ralph H. Cake, managed Willkie's 1944 Presidential effort, which collapsed after Dewey swept Wisconsin. If only for revenge Cake probably would back Stassen now even if he came out for cannibalism.

Both Stassen and Dewey are tub-thumping about communism. Even the press has become sick of it. "Let's not have an Oregon campaign based on who hates the Communists the most," the *Oregonian* has urged. Of course, other issues are more perilous. Stassen is opposed to the repeal of oleo taxes. Dewey has pirouetted lightly around the question: he fears the price of oleo would not benefit from removal of the taxes. Stassen is opposed to the Townsend Plan, a stand which will cost him votes in a state with so many people over sixty-five. Dewey has yet to mention the $200-a-month pension scheme.

Both Stassen and Dewey are naturally all for federal economy and for fewer bureaucrats. Naturally they want more dams for power and irrigation on the rivers of the Northwest. Neither has declared himself on the critical issue of public versus private distribution of this power, although both oppose a Columbia Valley Authority patterned after the TVA. The two men are masters of double talk; they must be if they promise river-development projects and at the same time seek the favor of a political party which controlled the national government for twelve consecutive years and failed to generate a single kilowatt in Oregon.

Dewey is perhaps the more proficient user of gobbledygook, as witness this forthright stand on hydroelectric undertakings: "Multiple-purpose projects must be administered by capable men ordered specifically to resolve conflicts without red tape or unnecessary delay. . . ." Dewey delivered this passage with great emphasis. Thunders of applause from the gallery!

Stassen toured Oregon's 96,981 square miles in February. Now he has rushed back to combat the Dewey threat. Intelligent men who have heard both candidates speak believe Dewey is the shrewder of the pair. They think the New Yorker shows a firmer grasp of more issues. At the same time they feel Stassen is much more attractive, more genuine as a human being. Stassen unquestionably would win a popularity contest, though Dewey's precinct-level campaign has paid him dividends: frontier voters are flattered to be courted personally by the Governor of New York. With so few vital differences between the candidates, a popularity contest is what the election may narrow down to.

Stassen's audiences appear to be younger, and he has been smart enough to keep shopworn politicians off his rostrums. He was introduced to an overflow crowd in Portland by a shipmate from Admiral Halsey's flagship. When the young man, a former star halfback at the state university, stumbled reading the introduction, the Stassen cause was not damaged.

Senator Wayne Morse, who probably has the greatest number of personal adherents of any politician in Oregon, has dodged a choice, although he promises to campaign "enthusiastically" for any man winning the G. O. P. nomination. Morse's own preference is known to be Vandenberg. In fact, many leading Oregon Republicans believe Vandenberg will be the ultimate beneficiary if Stassen wins on May 21. A defeat for Dewey—his third in a row—would compel him to turn in his suit.

There is a kind of frenzy in Dewey's campaign. Tension grips his headquarters; his aides are jittery. The candidate himself is wreathed in a perpetual smile, but it looks like a clown's smile. Little incidents show his petulance and anxiety. At the University of Oregon four Stassen adherents sat near the front of the hall where Dewey spoke. They were ostentatiously preoccupied with the issue of *Life* which had Stassen's picture on the cover. Dewey, when asked a question, confused the interrogator with one of these men and scolded him for reading during the speech. The mistake caused a grim rustle through the crowd, and Dewey had to send his secretary to apologize to the man he had criticized.

On the other hand Stassen has bungled badly by harping on communism to the practical exclusion of other issues. His speech on communism in Portland attracted only 1,500 people to the ice coliseum which seats 7,000.

The vapid utterances of both Dewey and Stassen have had the result of galvanizing Oregon Democrats to considerable action in behalf of Justice William O. Douglas. The attitude of the Democrats seems to be that if this pussyfooting pair represents the flower of modern Republicanism, then Douglas could win even with Henry Wallace still in the field to divide the Democratic vote.

Typical of the intellectual atmosphere pervading this most crucial of all Republican primaries in the West is the insistence of both Stassen and Dewey that "Western resources should be in the hands of people who live in the West." Can these men have read Bernard DeVoto's articles in *Harper's* which pointed out that the pressure to strip away Western forests and despoil Western grasslands all originates in the West? Have they forgotten Fall of New Mexico and Teapot Dome? Have Dewey and Stassen heard of Ballinger of Seattle and the Alaskan coal fields? Easterners may be unfit to deal with the West; yet Jefferson, a Virginian, sent Lewis and Clark to Oregon, and Roosevelt, a New Yorker, built Bonneville and Grand Coulee.

We seem to have here a couple of bright young fellows who would rather be President than right.

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Blunder in Korea

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

IT GIVES most Americans a start to realize that we are rapidly losing the cold war in Korea. On the surface the recent elections—won by Syngman Rhee, who had strong American support—seemed a triumph for our diplomacy, and they have been so interpreted in the press. But while we have been scoring a few technical points, Russia has run away with the game. The statement of principles for an all-Korean government issued by the North-South conference at Pyongyang on May 1 has not only won general approval in North Korea but substantial support from right, moderate, and left groups in the South. And the Soviet government's prestige has been greatly enhanced by its announcement that it was ready to withdraw its troops in response to the conference's demand.

Just how the United States let Russia win the game will undoubtedly be a matter of dispute for years. Many of the facts have been obscured by congenital American optimism. Others have been suppressed by censorship and bad news reporting. Our position was badly shaken in the early days of the occupation when General Hodge refused to recognize the provisional Korean People's Republic and permitted Japanese police and minor functionaries to remain in office. Although the Japanese did not stay long, General Hodge has never completely lived down this blunder.

In contrast, the Soviets made an auspicious start by working with the Korean regime that had been established prior to their entry and by permitting it to put through a long overdue program of land reform. The farming families in North Korea, 72 per cent of the total number, who received land under this redistribution naturally became firm supporters of the new government. In South Korea the land problem was ignored until about six weeks ago, when a program was drawn up to permit farmers to buy the rice land they had been tilling as tenants of the Military Government. Although a step in the right direction, the program has proved a dud as far as arousing popular backing for American policies is concerned. This may be largely because General Hodge, unable to get action from his right-wing Legislative Assembly, put through his program by edict of the American Military Government, whereas the Russians permitted the Koreans themselves to carry out the redistribution of land. The inability or unwillingness of AMG to protect labor and left-wing groups from political terrorism by the right has also worked to turn a considerable segment of the Korean population against the United States.

Until the early part of this year, however, General Hodge could claim that a majority in South Korea supported the American policy of resisting so-called Communist expansion from the North. Conservative and moderate groups in general accepted the Americans as the lesser of two evils. The alienation in this brief time of such staunch right-wing groups as the Independence Party under Kim Koo and the Revolutionary Party under Dr. Kimm Kiusic is so extraordinary a feat as to call for an explanation.

During the greater part of 1947 the United States and the Soviet Union tried to outdo each other as ardent advocates of Korean independence. After the Soviet-American joint commission failed to find a basis for the establishment of a unified government, the United States proposed a four-power conference. Russia countered by suggesting that both American and Soviet troops be withdrawn and the Koreans given an opportunity to form their own government without foreign interference. Subsequent events show that this offer made a deep impression on Koreans on both sides of the Thirty-eighth Parallel. The United States was put on the spot. General Hodge feared that acceptance would mean Communist domination of all Korea. Yet outright rejection would be a confession of weakness. In an effort to salvage as much as possible from a bad situation, the United States asked the United Nations to send a commission to supervise elections in both zones and aid in setting up a unified government.

At the time this seemed like a clever move. But when the Russians barred the commission from visiting their zone, it became obvious that there was no rabbit in the U. N.'s hat. The commission found itself hopelessly divided on what action to recommend. All the members opposed the establishment of a national government in South Korea on the ground that it would "harden and perpetuate the existing division of Korea," but a bare majority felt that elections for "consultative" purposes might be desirable. The Canadian representative led the opposition to consultative elections, insisting that it was clearly the intent of the Assembly that elections be held in Korea as a whole and that if this proved impossible the commission had no power to make recommendations which could apply only to part of the country.

The commission insisted that fundamental reforms were necessary in South Korea to insure the elementary freedoms essential to "a truly free election." It pointed to a mass of evidence showing the denial of civil liberties in that area. Japanese laws permitting arrests without

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warrants had been retained. No right of habeas corpus existed. In the words of the commission's report:

> The police may arrest or detain a person three or five months, and it may be not only one person but a thousand people. They may even arrest ten thousand to fifty thousand people. . . . Any individual Korean is at the mercy of the police. He may be arrested at any time without a warrant of arrest, kept in jail for indefinite periods of time and without any law providing for his imprisonment to be reviewed by the court.

The report was delivered to the Interim Committee, popularly known as the "Little Assembly," a body which like the Korean commission had been boycotted by the Soviet bloc. Considerable uncertainty exists as to the exact legal status of the "Little Assembly." No provision for it is found in the Charter. Its power to act in place of the Assembly is highly questionable. Still less would it seem to possess the legal power to override the recommendations of another Assembly committee, such as the Korean commission. Yet this is precisely what the "Little Assembly" proceeded to do upon the insistence of the United States. The American representative on the Interim Committee, Philip Jessup, demanded that the commission's recommendation of elections for "consultative" purposes only be rejected and that the commission be instructed to make immediate preparations for "elections in all Korea, and if that is impossible, in as much of Korea as is accessible to it." The United States succeeded in forcing this measure through the "Little Assembly," but there were two "nays" and eleven abstentions among nations that normally support its proposals.

IN INSISTING upon the election of an "all-Korean" government in its zone alone, the United States undoubtedly felt that the promise of self-rule under U. N. guaranties would win support from the right and moderate groups in the South at least. But it miscalculated the intensity of the average Korean's passion for independence. Kim Koo and Kimm Kiusic, two of the country's three outstanding conservative leaders, immediately denounced the elections as a device for partitioning their country. Kimm Kiusic, chairman of the South Korea Interim Legislative Assembly—a post for which he had been handpicked by the Americans—resigned his position in protest against the elections. The Russians shrewdly capitalized on the American blunder by permitting the People's Committee which has taken over much authority in the Soviet zone to summon a conference of leaders from both zones to consider joint action. After some negotiations the two conservative leaders from the South agreed to attend the conference, as did the non-Communist liberal leader, Lyuh Hong Woon, chairman of the Democratic Socialist Party in South Korea. But before accepting, Kimm Kiusic insisted that the northern group agree to the following five conditions: (1) that the conference would oppose the establishment of a dictatorship, including a dictatorship of the proletariat; (2) that it would oppose monopolistic capitalism but recognize the right of private ownership; (3) that it would support the formation of a united Korean government through elections in all Korea; (4) that it would oppose the maintenance of military bases in Korea by any foreign power; and (5) that it would advocate the withdrawal of Soviet and American forces through a two-power agreement. Although both the American-Russian joint commission and the U. N. commission had tried in vain to arrive at an agreement along these lines, Dr. Kimm's conditions were quickly accepted by the North.

The results of this conference were never made clear to the American public by the newspapers reporting it. One dispatch, featured on the front page of the New York *Times*, said the conference had created a North Korean regime claiming jurisdiction over the whole country. Five days later the *Times* quoted Kimm Kiusic and Kim Koo as certain that there would be no attempt to set up a separate North Korean government. The *Times* and U. P. stories of the report of the two southern leaders after returning from the conference were strikingly contradictory. Richard J. H. Johnston, writing in the *Times*, described Kimm Kiusic as "noticeably embittered and disillusioned by his experiences at the Communist-run conference" and quoted him as saying that he would not oppose the U. N.-sponsored elections. The U. P. dispatch said that Kimm had praised the work of the Soviet occupation forces and was absolutely opposed to the elections. Kimm's concurrence in the Pyongyang declaration, which incorporated his five points, testifies unmistakably to the accuracy of the U. P. dispatch.

To what extent the May elections, with their relatively heavy vote, were "free" is of course debatable. A few facts, however, stand out. Although the vote was moderately heavy—between 75 and 90 per cent of the registered voters, depending on which dispatch you believe—its fairness had not been assured by the necessary legal and administrative reforms. The police permitted lawlessness and terrorism on the part of extreme rightist organizations, particularly Syngman Rhee's semi-fascist Youth Corps, while cracking down violently on all labor and peasant demonstrations. In their efforts to suppress free speech, the rightist groups destroyed newspaper offices and even attacked the Y. M. C. A. in Seoul without interference by the police. On May Day —just eleven days before the elections—members of the conservative government workers' unions were required to stand through three and one-half hours of speech-making; at the same time United States army planes were circling over the environs of Seoul looking for illegal labor or left-wing demonstrations.

When the head of the U. N. commission protested to the American authorities that voters were being

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searched before they were permitted to cast their ballots, he was told that this was a necessary precaution. Guards stood fifty paces from the entrances to the polling places with bayonets unsheathed. Instead of suppressing Rhee's Youth Corps for its acts of terrorism, the American military authorities used 25,000 of its adherents, armed with baseball bats and lead-tipped clubs, to aid in supervising the elections. Since the left not only boycotted the election but engaged in acts of sabotage and violence of its own, the creation of a "national" government on the basis of the results of the balloting would be a perverted application of the democratic principle of free elections. The U. N. commission will only be doing its duty if it rules the elections invalid.

Meanwhile, the Soviets have stolen a march on us by their announced decision to withdraw their troops at an early date and their insistence that the dispute over the payment for the North's electric power be handled by Korean representatives rather than by American and Soviet authorities. If the United States had built up as strong a bulwark of democracy in South Korea as it pretends, it would not have found the Russian moves particularly embarrassing. Since the bulk of the Korean population is in the American zone, it might withdraw with some assurance that the Koreans could work out their own problems in a reasonably democratic way. But the American authorities profess to fear that the Korean militia of the North, organized and armed by the Russians, would impose a Communist regime on the whole country as soon as our troops were pulled out. The size and strength of this force are in dispute. American handouts have set the figure as high as 200,000. But some American correspondents report that this militia is much smaller and less well organized than official sources suggest. In fact, they go so far as to insist that the combined South Korean police and Youth Corps, both under the control of Syngman Rhee, form a more formidable military force than anything the North possesses. It is doubtful, however, that these groups could exercise the kind of control displayed in the recent elections without the use of American troops.

So the United States has an uncomfortable choice. It must either withdraw and run the risk of the Koreans setting up a left-wing government at least partially under Communist influence, or stay at the cost of gravely damaging American prestige throughout the Orient. The wisest course, obviously, is to take the risk of withdrawing simultaneously with the Russians and to show by our literal observance of the high moral commitments of the Atlantic Charter that the United States will support the aspirations of all peoples, Asiatic as well as European, for freedom and self-government.

One Security for Another

BY MADELINE KARR

Washington, May 12

IT ALL started as a harmless-looking little bill in the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee. Under the present law no suspended government worker can be given back pay for the period he has been absent even if subsequently the Civil Service Commission finds that he has been improperly suspended and he is reinstated. The law says that federal employees can be paid wages only for days worked.

So the Senate committee wrote a bill to give reinstated workers their back pay. The bill passed the Senate and wended its uneventful way to the House committee concerned.

The Civil Service Commission, when asked for its opinion of the bill, made several criticisms, including a suggestion that it would be a good idea to establish a uniform dismissal policy for all federal employees. Noting that the War and Navy departments and several other agencies had the power of summary dismissal, the Civil Service Commission wrote, "It may be advisable to extend to all heads of departments and agencies the authority granted in that section of the act to immediately remove or suspend without pay, without regard to the specified procedure, when the demands of national security so require."

The House committee, under the chairmanship of Edward H. Rees of Kansas, obligingly accepted the recommendation and reported the bill out. The House of Representatives unanimously passed it.

Not one word of protest was uttered against this extension of a summary-dismissal policy originally adopted for agencies considered to need special precautionary privileges because of their strategic or "sensitive" nature. The State Department, National Defense Department, Central Intelligence Agency, and Atomic Energy Commission may require such a measure, though this could certainly be disputed. But one would expect some question to be raised in the House about giving such powers to the Post Office and Department of Agriculture without better reasons than a desire for uniformity.

After the bill was passed, the Civil Service Commission suddenly protested against the summary-dismissal provision, and on being shown that this originated in a letter over the signature of Harry B. Mitchell, its president, it admitted previous error. But while the com-

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mission has retracted, the bill still sits in a conference committee where the divergences between the House and Senate versions are to be ironed out. The House members have offered a compromise—to permit employees discharged from agencies not now enjoying the right of summary dismissal to appeal to the Civil Service Commission, and to give employees of agencies which already have that right a chance to appeal to the head of the agency. The procedure for the latter group, in which the appeal would be made to the official who ordered the dismissal in the first place, would hardly insure the suspended worker an impartial hearing.

Summary dismissal in sensitive agencies is not supposed to carry implications of disloyalty; it simply means that in the agency's opinion the individual involved is "a bad security risk." Thus no charges at all need be made. Summary dismissal, as one personnel official said, may mean only that the person becomes easily intoxicated and hence might give away secrets. But it also opens the way for prejudice, personal or political, to dictate dismissals.

Take the case of X, an employee of the National Defense Department, who was notified on September 26, 1947, that he was "suspended without pay pending investigation for a period not to exceed ninety days." X wrote a letter asking what the charges were, if any, and when they could be answered. He received this reply on December 12, 1947: "There appears to be no violation of the department's established policy in the matter of your suspension pending completion of an investigation. Please be assured that all factors in your case will be considered carefully before a final decision is reached." On December 24, 1947, he was notified that the suspension order had been extended another sixty days.

X is still under suspension. He has heard no charges and had no hearing, and there are no indications that a hearing is to be granted. None is required under the law. Nor can X get back pay for the eight months he has been suspended. Since he was not fired on loyalty grounds, the Loyalty Review Board cannot consider the case. In fact, the board has as yet not considered a single case; security dismissals are so much simpler.

In the meantime the Senate Armed Services Committee has entered the picture with a bill to give the army, navy, air force, Atomic Energy Commission, State Department, National Security Resources Board, National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, and Coast Guard power summarily to suspend or dismiss employees on grounds of disloyalty or as security risks. Those agencies now have this power only under temporary war-time acts or legislative riders to appropriation bills. The new bill would make their power of summary dismissal permanent and allow the President to extend it to other agencies, reserving to dismissed employees the right to appeal to the head of the agency before dismissal, and afterward to the Civil Service Commission to clear their names.

Both bills further limit the safeguards surrounding the federal employee in his civil-service status. There are no provisions for confronting the accused employee with witnesses or requiring evidence against him. The new bill, linking disloyalty and security-risk dismissals, can be particularly harmful to the employee. At present employees dismissed under security regulations are in theory permitted to be cleared for work with other, non-"sensitive," agencies, but actually they are not being hired. One State Department employee so fired got clearance and a good recommendation from his superiors but found it impossible to obtain employment in any other government department. Fear of Congressional wrath, with Representative Taber controlling appropriations, was too much to contend with.

The witch-hunting spirit of Congress, which so easily passes such bills, is one aspect of the great fear psychosis haunting Washington. What it has done to already timorous government workers is dangerous for democracy; the free rein it gives prejudice is even more so.

OPHELIA: "O, what a noble mind is here o'erthrown!"
HAMLET: "I am but mad north-north-west. When the wind is easterly I know a hawk from a handsaw."
INNOCENT IDEALISM
PALESTINE related to the World Situation
THE HAGUE and Socialism
LOW

ERNIE HAMLET London *Express*—Canada Wide

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Russia Counts Its Assets

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

I. Economic Revival

Moscow, April

THE most familiar Russian thesis today is that nowhere in the world can there be any lasting "freedom from want" without a planned economy. That is why Europe is more receptive to socialism and communism than ever before. Any violent resistance to this natural historical process can only lead to deeper economic chaos, above all in France. (Britain is a rather special case.) In Asia the progress of the Chinese Communists is considered the best vindication of the Russian theory that planned economy has something to offer a famished people. More and more frequently is the testament of Sun Yat-sen recalled, his assertion that China's real hope lay in friendship with Bolshevik Russia. Even children's magazines and newspapers publish numerous stories and pictures showing the wretched lot of the teeming masses of China and India. The latest number of the children's magazine *Mhrzilka* contains a large colored plate of two wretched rickshaw coolies running a race, spurred on by the arrogant cigar-smoking American marines seated in their vehicles.

No one feels more strongly about Americans than children. Recently hundreds of posters were put up in Moscow showing a large Red Army soldier raising his finger admonishingly and saying "Stop Fooling" to a toad-and-Uncle-Sam-like creature clutching an atom bomb, and on several occasions I saw school children viciously tearing the picture of the atom-bomb creature. Hardly a poster has been left unmutilated by juvenile enthusiasts. Not that the people in general seriously believe war is coming. But the threat of war—for which "the warmongers are preparing"—seems to be resented. A characteristic comment was made to me by a Russian housewife: "Oh, I am not worrying about atom bombs; but to have all the bother of ration cards again would be too awful!" Naturally, the remark should not be taken literally, but it is revealing none the less.

The end of rationing has, of course, been an amazingly popular measure. And the stability of the new ruble has had profound effects on ordinary life. Every Russian knows that he can buy more with a given number of rubles today than before, and for the same amount of work his wages are the same as they were. So rubles have become valuable, and everybody wants to earn as many as possible. As a result city workers' absenteeism has reached the lowest point ever, and piecework production tends to be as high as possible; also, all kinds of former "spivs" have taken regular employment. On collective farms there is immense eagerness to earn new rubles with which to buy manufactured goods; even the laziest peasants now put in the maximum number of "labor days," for which they are paid partly in cash. Drunkenness has declined sharply. With vodka 120 rubles a liter, the price of sixteen pounds of sugar, a man thinks twice before buying it.

The urge to "earn more rubles" will undoubtedly produce very valuable results this year in industry and agriculture alike. In terms of world politics the most important economic fact will be the enormous output of food, especially grain—barring exceptionally bad weather—by Russia in 1948, "the decisive agricultural year," as it is being generally described. The grain production per head of population is expected to be several times higher than in Western Europe or even the United States. This is not only a vitally important factor in the transition from socialism to communism within Russia but is also likely to have immediate international effects.

IN CONSEQUENCE of Russia's economic revival the countries of Eastern and Central Europe will if necessary be able to rely on Soviet aid to fill any food deficit, especially in grain. Russia's abundance of grain will play an especially important role in Germany; able to obtain far more grain from Russia than hitherto, the eastern zone may enjoy a gradual, perhaps a rapid, return to a reasonable dietary standard. If that happens, the contrast with conditions in the western zones may have a powerful influence on the German mind.

Then there is the effect of Russian plenty on Britain. A recent cartoon shows the British lion putting his head meekly into the American lion-tamer's mouth, but at the same time it is constantly stressed that the Marshall Plan at its best cannot solve Britain's profound economic difficulties—and the indications are that it will not be "at its best." On the face of things it would seem that an ever-deepening economic crisis in Britain, and eventually in America, would be advantageous to the spread of communism, but Britain and America are very far from being ripe for communism, and the crisis, it is argued, is much more likely to resolve itself in imperialist aggression. In the face of such risks, it would be better

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for Russia if Britain and America continued as capitalist countries, but as non-aggressive—or even "Laborite" —capitalist countries ready to establish a reasonable *modus vivendi* with the Soviet Union. France and other countries of Western Europe would then fall into step.

Hence Russia's interest in men like Mr. Wallace in America and Mr. Zilliacus in Britain. Although Mr. Zilliacus may carry little weight today, he talks sense, the Russians say, for there can be no solution for England without large-scale trade with Eastern Europe and especially Russia. Under Wallace there would also be large-scale trade between Russia and the United States, and once the threat of war was averted, compromises could be more easily reached on questions like Germany, Austria, Greece, the Straits, and Iran.

Thinking as they do on Marxist lines, the Russians consider it "scientifically certain" that reactionary capitalism will strive to prevent Russia and Eastern Europe from making an economic success of their systems, and the theory of an American preventive war is deeply ingrained in every Russian, though on the whole they believe that "the Americans won't dare." The "Falsifiers of History" documents (the full texts of these and other documents are to be published by the Soviet Foreign Office) made a big impression in Russia—above all, the demonstration that in 1939 the Chamberlain government was still negotiating with Germany and during the "phony war" was actively preparing to fight Russia in Finland and to bomb Baku, the determination to fight Germany being much more half-hearted. It is perhaps significant that these Russian documents contain several tributes to Mr. Churchill for his farsightedness in 1939, 1940, and 1941, notably when he made Britain's position crystal clear the day Germany invaded Russia.

Roman Catholic Science

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

II. Apparitions and Evolution

IN THE first part of this article I described certain devices and physical objects which the Roman Catholic hierarchy uses to stimulate faith and collect money on the lower level of Catholic cultural life. The church is wise enough not to impose belief in relics upon the wealthy and the educated. In the upper Catholic world, in fact, relics are regarded with a kind of amused tolerance. Among upper-class Catholics the attitude toward relics is not unlike that toward the prohibitions against birth control. (Educated Catholics do not say anything publicly in favor of birth control, but many manage to have small families in spite of their priests.) "No Catholic is formally bound to the positive veneration of relics," says the "Catholic Encyclopedic Dictionary," "but is forbidden by the Council of Trent to say that such veneration ought not to be given."

This means in practice that the "honest" Catholic scientist disregards the whole hocus-pocus of relic-worship and keeps his mouth shut. While peasants, laborers, and priest-dominated women climb on their knees the stone steps that lead to the shrines, the scientist looks the other way. He concentrates if possible on those subjects which are farthest removed from priestly exploitation. Catholic scientists are famous for their investigations of the weather and earthquakes.

The next and last article in Mr. Blanshard's present series will discuss the potential influence of the Roman Catholic church on American democracy.

Slightly more respectable than relic-worship and the manufacture of saints is the supernatural marvel known as an apparition of the Virgin Mary. The two greatest shrines in the world today, Lourdes and Fatima, have acquired their popularity as the result of alleged visits by the Virgin Mary, plus subsequent local miracles. The most famous shrine in the Western Hemisphere, Guadaloupe, is built upon the spot where the Virgin talked to a Mexican.

There need be no doubt in the mind of anybody that actual cures have been wrought at these famous shrines. We have learned a great deal about psychosomatic disabilities and the therapeutic effects of hopeful enthusiasm since Bernadette Soubirous spoke with the Virgin Mary at Lourdes in 1858. The piles of discarded crutches at Catholic shrines are real enough; the only controversy is as to their meaning. The church admits that "only a very small percentage of the sick are cured" at Lourdes. It claimed "300 to 400 cures which medical science cannot explain" up to 1931—perhaps one person in a thousand is helped physically.

The various shrines visited by the Virgin Mary have become enormously profitable financially and spiritually. Unfortunately for the American hierarchy there has never been any such focus for adoration in the United States. Although Mary Immaculate is the official Roman Catholic patroness of the United States, and although American Catholics have already raised more than $1,000,000 for a National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington, the Virgin Mary has not yet visited this country.

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For a few days in 1945 it seemed that this condition might be remedied. A small Bronx boy named Joseph Vitolo, Jr., who had seen the motion picture "Song of Bernadette" saw an apparition of the Virgin Mary seventeen times. *PM* described the phenomenon on November 5 of that year:

> Twenty-five thousand persons, according to a police estimate, swarmed yesterday to the vacant lot in the Bronx where a nine-year-old boy and his friends have built a crude shrine on the spot where he says he saw an apparition of the Virgin Mary last Monday.
>
> The boy, Joseph Vitolo, Jr., 3194 Villa Avenue, saw the apparition, according to his friends, after three small Negro girls had fled from a dancing white cloud in the lot, which lies on the Grand Concourse, 150 feet south of Van Cortlandt Avenue.
>
> Joseph was quoted in Sunday's *Bronx Home News* as saying: "I saw the Virgin Mary with long blond hair and a sort of light around her. She wore a blue dress that turned to pink and stood behind a golden table and four chairs. There was a candle on the table, and I took it and tried to hand it to another boy, but it disappeared."
>
> Joseph . . . says his vision was "completely different" from that seen by Bernadette in the movie.
>
> Two women claim that their children have benefited miraculously from Joseph's apparition.

New York priests cooperated in this performance, but the hierarchy was cautious and noncommittal. The Virgin Mary had promised Joseph that a well would appear in the vacant Bronx lot after her last appearance—at Lourdes it had been a spring. When the well failed to appear under the skeptical scrutiny of some of the world's shrewdest newspapermen, the New York hierarchy let the matter drop.

In recent years priestly promotion in the field of Mariology has centered on Fatima. Fatima is a hamlet in northern Portugal where the Virgin Mary made six appearances to three peasant children in 1917 just before the Bolshevik revolution. The messages she delivered to these children were most timely; in fact, they showed a considerable comprehension of the delicate position of the Vatican in European politics.

The Catholic hierarchy did not at first appreciate the unique importance of the miracle of Fatima. Five years after the event the Catholic Encyclopedia Supplement does not even mention it. Then the struggle between the church and communism became more intense, and it was noted that the Portuguese peasant children had received a supernatural message on the subject of Russia. The very vagueness of the message was an argument in its favor. "If my requests are granted," said the Virgin Mary at Fatima, "Russia will be converted; there will be peace. Otherwise Russia will spread its error throughout the world, giving rise to wars and persecutions against the church." Some genius in the church recognized the possibilities of the situation, and an international promotion campaign for Fatima was soon under way.

The place has now become a shrine more popular even than Lourdes. Sometimes it is visited by more than 700,000 people in a single month. American publishers and newspapers have cooperated in developing the cult. American newspapers which refuse advertising for any article or book attacking the Catholic church* accept advertising which describes the Fatima occurrence as a proved fact. The New York *Times*, for example, published on September 7, 1947, a Macmillan advertisement for "Our Lady of Fatima," by Professor William T. Walsh, which described the story of Fatima as "historic fact established by overwhelming testimony." And in the same issue the *Times* carried a commendatory review implying complete acceptance of Catholic claims.

Recently "Fatima statues" have been started around the world with enormous public fanfare and detailed reports in the Catholic press. Each statue during its journey has had many "miracles reported along its path." The statues themselves are duplicates of a crude model of the Virgin Mary carved by a sculptor-priest after talking with the sole survivor of the three peasant children of Fatima. One duplicate was taken on a tour through Canada and welcomed to American soil in Buffalo on December 8, 1947, by 200,000 persons. Several leading New York papers gave the statue enormous play. Virtually all publicity about the miracle of Fatima has coupled it with the church's drive against communism.

Many Catholic intellectuals are shamefaced about this exploitation of apparitions. They admit that the "messages" given to the world by this means do not seem to be any more coherent or enlightening than those of the average spiritualist medium—and the church rejects spiritualism flatly. Catholic intellectuals are not bound by the rules of their church to take the apparition stories seriously as long as they do not repudiate the inspiring legends publicly. Even Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen, when he described the miracle of Fatima on a nation-wide radio hook-up last year, ended his breathlessly reverent account by declaring he was "not concerned about proving the authenticity of these revelations, for those who believe in the realm of the spirit and the mother of God need no proof."

WHILE parish priests are operating in the underworld of superstition, the church is attempting to hold the allegiance of educated Catholics in the world of science. The task is made easier by the fact that the Catholic educational system is largely segregated from the rest of American culture. The hierarchy has created separate learned societies in many fields, and the annual conventions of these Catholic societies are carefully immunized against heresy.

* Advertisements of Mr. Blanshard's first series of articles in *The Nation* were refused by the New York *Times*, *Sun*, and *World Telegram*, and the Newark *Ledger*.

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In this upper world of Catholic learning the language of the hierarchy in dealing with scientific matters is well modulated. Official and public encouragement is given to scientific research, particularly in those fields where there is no conflict between science and theology. The hierarchy has not actually accepted the theory of evolution, but it has given Catholic scientists permission to believe it if they wish so long as they teach it merely as a theory and not as a fact, and so long as they do not attempt to draw any philosophic inferences from it.

Dr. William Agar in his "Catholicism and the Progress of Science," one of the volumes of the Christendom Series edited by Carlton Hayes and others under the imprimatur of Cardinal Spellman, points out that "the Catholic view of man . . . precludes the acceptance of evolution of man *as a whole* from animal life," but it is perfectly permissible for a Catholic to believe "the scientific theory . . . that life has developed from life with change and specialization from simple beginnings up to the manifold types now existing." It is permissible provided the modern believer also believes in the *special* creation of the soul at some point in the evolutionary process and accepts the doctrine that all members of the human race are descended from two parents, Adam and Eve.

Although Pius X directed all Catholics as late as 1909 to regard the creation narrative and the story of Adam's fall as historical, the hierarchy is now very charitable about the dates of Adam's appearance in history. "The Catholic church" says Dr. Agar, "has never been wedded to any particular chronology in spite of the current notion that the date of Adam's creation had been definitely fixed."

It is interesting to note that Dr. Agar in this standard defense of Catholic science does not mention relics, saints, scapulars, or apparitions. The whole underworld of priestly superstition is carefully avoided as outside the scope of the progress of Catholic science.

While educated Catholics make these concessions to modern science on paper, the parish priests in many parts of the United States still bitterly assail the theory of evolution. The most noted American Jewish convert, David Goldstein, who has served as a proselyting campaigner for many years, says in his "What Say You?" (imprimatur of Archbishop Cushing), p. 69: "While Catholics are free to speculate regarding the evolution of the human body, they would be intellectually lacking if they were to accept such a hypothesis as an established fact, when there is no substantial scientific data to sustain it." Goldstein wrote his book five years after Dr. Agar had attempted to reconcile the teachings of the priests and the theory of evolution. Goldstein characteristically concludes his discussion of evolution with the jeering comment of a Jesuit: "Adam never had to say 'papa' to an ape!"

The National Catholic Education Association has had a hard time keeping "atheistic" evolution out of Catholic textbooks. Father Paul Carroll, a Jesuit biologist who made a survey of Catholic college-biology textbooks for the association in 1940 (*Bulletin*, August, 1940), declared that "the great majority of the books give either false or inaccurate accounts" of the Catholic fundamentals. He stressed the fact that good Catholic teaching must include "a single pair of progenitors of the human race" and the conception that "a human body is formed in a special way," and he concluded his analysis by quoting with approval the statement:

> Loose-thinking Catholics often tell you that the church has not condemned evolution. The truth is that you are a heretic in a dozen ways if you admit what the world is calling evolution. . . . The evolutionists have an answer . . . an irritating, erroneous, unproved, and unprovable one—and one condemned by the church.

In areas where the Catholic church is strong priests frequently attack the teaching of evolution in the public schools.

The total effect of priestly anti-science upon Catholic scholarship has been appalling. The scientific output of American Catholicism is almost nil, and the fact has been admitted again and again with much breast-beating by eminent Catholics. Priestly control has so stifled and misdirected the scientific spirit in Catholic universities that first-class scientific research in these institutions is a rarity. A study by Professors H. C. Lehman and Paul A. Witty of starred names in "American Men of Science" for 1927 showed that less than 1 per cent of these eminent scientists were Catholic, the lowest proportion of any religious group in the United States. A study begun by Professor J. A. Reyniers of Notre Dame, summarized in *America* of August 3, 1946, showed that "on the basis of productive scholarship we [Catholics] have no prominent universities. Among the schools which have reached the university status we are at the bottom of the list of published research, just as our medical schools are at the bottom of medical ratings lists. . . . There is only one-fourth as much productive scholarship coming from Catholics as our numbers warrant. . . ."

Such humility is refreshing, and it can be useful if Catholic scholars will begin to admit the causes of their lowly place in the world of science. Lehman and Witty at the end of their 1927 study of men of science said, "The conspicuous dearth of scientists among the Catholics suggests that the tenets of the church are not consonant with scientific endeavor." They might have added that the Catholic people in America are not to blame for either the tenets or the cultural strategy of their hierarchy, and that the anti-science of the priests is as anomalous in the American environment as the thumbscrew and the rack.

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Del Vayo—Toward Agreement

[This page was mailed in Paris the day before the notes between Molotov and Bedell Smith were released in Moscow. Whatever the final results of that exchange, it represents in some degree a conciliatory overture on the part of Washington and a quick, affirmative response on the part of the Soviet Union. The episode, however dramatic, was not an isolated one. It was rather the culmination of a process which has been manifest for some time. Mr. del Vayo's commentary on recent signs of better relations between East and West provides an essential background for the events of the past week.]

Paris, May 10

THROUGHOUT the past eight months of international hypertension I have steadily maintained that there would be no war, that sooner or later the fever would subside. Everything I have written has been based on a belief in an eventual rapprochement. To my way of thinking, the words "no war" and "rapprochement" are complementary, for if war seems inconceivable, history has shown that the world cannot remain suspended indefinitely in a limbo between war and peace. I have held to my thesis by keeping constantly in mind my visit to Russia in 1946. I came away from Moscow convinced that the Russians would never allow their relations with the West to deteriorate to the point where war became inevitable; a clash would come, I wrote then, only if the advocates of a preventive war in the Anglo-American camp managed to gain the upper hand despite the strong peace sentiments of the American and British people. The statement of Secretary Marshall before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on May 5 in which he opposed revision of the United Nations Charter without Russian consent marks, I think, the victory of reason over hysteria.

Marshall's speech is the best news out of Washington in a long time, but it is not the only sign of improvement in the international situation. The Berlin and Vienna incidents, which might easily have had serious consequences, were resolved, at least temporarily, by concessions on both sides. During the last foreign-policy debate in the House of Commons Foreign Secretary Bevin expressed the belief that London and Moscow could reach an acceptable compromise on the problems which now separate them. Of course many points of conflict still remain; when, for instance, the four powers appeared to be near an accord on Austria, Yugoslavia's demand for some 800 square miles of territory and $148,000,000 in reparations threw the London conference into another deadlock. But even in this matter the climate is one of conciliation, and Russia may not prove too insistent in its support of Yugoslav claims.

Three other events illustrate progress toward a healthier international atmosphere. Recently I attended a session of the European Parliamentary Union, which met in Nice to prepare the agenda for its general conference in September. I represented the Spanish Parliament in Exile. The Eastern countries were represented by parliamentarians from Yugoslavia, Rumania, Poland, Bulgaria, and Hungary, led by such well-known figures as Count Karolyi, Hungarian minister to Paris, and Stanoye Simic, president of the Yugoslav Parliament. The British delegation included outstanding Labor and Conservative M. P.'s; Lord Stansgate (formerly Wedgwood Benn) is the president of the Union. The Italian deputies were headed by Umberto Terracini, a Communist and president of the Constituent Assembly, who during the discussions sat beside Count Carton de Wiart, a Belgian Conservative. In the Committee for Political Affairs East and West clashed over a resolution on peace. The Spanish Parliament in Exile is strongly opposed to Spain's involvement in the battle of the blocs, and it was my privilege to act as a kind of mediator. Since we all shared a desire for peace, it was my contention that if we concentrated on that issue, antagonisms which at first appeared almost insuperable would soon disappear; nor was I mistaken, for the committee ended its work by voting a unanimous resolution. Lord Stansgate could rightly say at the farewell dinner that three days of united effort by parliamentarians of diverse parties and countries had shown the possibilities of international cooperation.

The second event was the agreement concluded in Rome last week by the international executive of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which indicated a radical change in Russia's attitude toward E. R. P. After hot debate, but by unanimous decision, the meeting accepted a Russian-American-British proposal that the W. F. T. U., should end its attacks on the Marshall Plan.

Finally, in a more distant but no less critical nerve center, recent Russian moves seem to be toward conciliation. The arrival in Ankara of the new Soviet ambassador, Alexander A. Lavrischev, has moderated Turkish fears that Russia had another series of impossible demands up its sleeve. The object of Mr. Lavrischev's mission is still secret, but from all available reports he is trying to renew the Soviet-Turkish friendship pact which Moscow until now has been unwilling to discuss.

Everywhere signs of a *détente* are evident, but specific areas of difficulty continue to block a general understanding. If the major powers could reach agreement on a single important issue, such as the German problem or E. R. P., they would advance a long way toward an ending of the cold war as a whole. Or, as we proposed a year ago in *The Nation*, a new, carefully planned European Economic Conference might turn the trick. The meeting of the U. N. Economic Commission for Europe, now in session at Geneva under the very able chairmanship of Gunnar Myrdal, has revealed a considerably increased spirit of cooperation. When the Soviet delegate, Arutiunian, made a positive offer of Russian collaboration, Britain's spokesman, Hector McNeil, seconded by the French and American delegates, replied that closer economic ties between East and West were both desirable and possible. The road toward rapprochement is open.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The World State: Illusions and Realities

FROM MANY ONE. By Crane Brinton. Harvard University Press. $2.25.

SOONER or later a good historian was bound to draw upon his knowledge of the tortuous and difficult process of political integration and tell our world planners that it is no easy task to unify partial and parochial communities into larger wholes. Professor Brinton has now performed that task. He is convinced that in global as in other affairs "over-ambitious, premature, and unrealistic planning is bound to lead to failure." He believes that our own history as a nation which was created through a constitution, or at least seemed to have been so created, has beguiled our idealists and planners. They do not realize how exceptional is our history. History in general proves that "real reform does not begin but ends with law." Laws and constitutions are the codifications of more vital political achievements. Smaller communities coalesce into larger ones by complex processes in which the preponderant power of the agent of unification is usually the most obvious element in the process.

From the history of the ancient world Professor Brinton chooses Rome as his example to prove how difficult was the achievement of the *pax Romana,* how brief its glory, and how complete its ruin, despite its ghostly aftermaths in our Western history. He also looks at the gradual integration of modern national states, particularly France. He comes to the conclusion that "successfully integrated states have always proved in practice to rest upon a mixture of imperialism and federalism, of force and consent"; that they possessed "a symbolic head of state," usually an "individual made symbol by ceremonial pomp"; that an "élite conditioned morally and intellectually for the service of an integrated state" was an important unifying force; and that they could not abide "groups, particularly groups with a territorial basis, which feel that the existence of an integrated state is incompatible with their own existence."

One might raise the question whether Professor Brinton has done sufficient justice to the integrating factors of common language, traditions, and ethnic affinities which are operative in the union of modern nations as distinguished from the imperial union of Rome. But in considering the possibilities of a world state he finds the absence of these unifying forces precisely the difficulty. "Think of bringing the Chinese, Argentinians, Russians, and all the seventy-odd 'sovereign' peoples together. . . . What have these people in common? Not religion, nor language, nor tradition, nor habits. They have in common only the barest undeveloped and unfulfilled attributes of *homo sapiens.*"

Do they not have another thing in common, the fear of mutual annihilation? Professor Brinton does not deny that the fear of atomic destruction is a new factor in the situation, but he believes that "the notion that if enough people fear they'll be blown to bits by an atomic bomb, they will get together in a parliament of man is a singularly naive one." If we try to increase the fear "as some of our wilder prophets desire," we shall certainly move toward war rather than peace. I think there is an important distinction here which Professor Brinton might have made between the fear of atomic destruction *per se* and the fear of the atomic destruction which "we" might suffer at the hands of a foe. The former type of fear is a reality among us and has contributed to a healthy consideration of world unity. But unfortunately the more potent fear is that of a concrete danger which "our" community confronts from another, rather than the common danger in which both stand. It is an instructive fact about human nature and history that the original fear of atomic destruction *per se* should have been so thoroughly displaced by our fear that the Russians may use atomic bombs against us, even though Russia does not yet have the bomb. Our problem today is not so much to make constructive use of fear as to prevent it from becoming utterly destructive, from tempting us into a "preventive" war, for instance.

Professor Brinton's concluding word is devoted to a criticism of the thought of social and historical scientists who know all the facts which he has elucidated but who, by some curious quirk in their idealism, think it relevant and hopeful to call upon our generation for actions and decisions which defy all the lessons of history.

It will be difficult at best to live sanely in our insecure age and to survive it. Illusions are tempting at such a time, but they are also irrelevant, and they may be dangerous. That is why this little book is an important contribution to the counsels of the nation.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Fiorello LaGuardia

THE MAKING OF AN INSURGENT. An autobiography: 1882-1919. By Fiorello H. LaGuardia. J. B. Lippincott Company. $2.75.

I WAS happy to accept the invitation to review "The Making of an Insurgent" for *The Nation.* Its readers will not expect me to be dispassionate about Fiorello LaGuardia. Few people could be.

Mr. LaGuardia had contracted to write a full-length autobiography. He was worried, as the shadow of sickness fell upon him, about his obligation to his publishers. These chapters were dictated in his last weeks—in pain. They record the kaleidoscopic procession of incidents that drifted through his memory—and bring us only to the threshold of his vital and important career in public service. In the 1920's LaGuardia was a voice crying in the wilderness; it was not until the cold winds of depression and crisis set in that people understood and appreciated him.

The story is unfinished, but reading it one can easily discern the forces which caught LaGuardia up and gave purpose to his life. From early childhood he exhibited a sensitiveness which caused him to rebel against injustice, to strike back at prejudice, to hate exploitation, and to loathe chicanery. Out of the same sen-

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sitiveness he opened his heart to people whom he found kind and good. He made fast friends—and it is not surprising that his school teacher at Prescott, Arizona, flew to New York to be present at his funeral.

Yet, interestingly enough, heroes and hero worship played no part in his development. No individual seems to have captured his boyhood imagination; Teddy Roosevelt, colonel of the Rough Riders, was an obvious idol, but his name receives only passing mention. It was not a single personality but a series of events which set the young LaGuardia afire. He was ablaze at an exceedingly early age, and the fire burned on to the very end.

When he was twelve he was bristling with resentment against grafting Indian agents; he was persuading his parents that gamblers and lobbyists could do nothing but harm to the meager family budget; he was bitter about the prejudice against minorities, particularly against the treatment he saw meted out to Italian immigrants. He early became an avid reader of newspapers. The muckraking New York *World* found its way to Prescott, and though he enjoyed his first taste of comics, it was the sordid stories of corruption in New York City which held his attention. "I could not understand how the people of the greatest city in the country could put up with the vice and crime. . . ."

Exploitation and graft struck in his own family, and LaGuardia never forgot that his father died as a result of eating tainted beef furnished by corrupt contractors. The first bill he introduced in Congress provided a death penalty for contractors furnishing poisoned products to the armed forces. The bill died in committee. "I still think it is a good idea," he writes. "It might prevent other families from losing their fathers."

At nineteen LaGuardia was in the American consular office at Fiume, where he developed his well-known faculty for resourcefulness. He had a way of doing things on his own. He rescued an American citizen from Hungarian recruiting officers and protected the honor of a young lady with his fists; he started a new system of inspecting emigrants before embarkation; previously the steamship companies had been permitted to transport them, unexamined, in steerage, to the promised land, where they were often rejected—for trachoma—and sent back; and he prevented the loading of hundreds of steerage passengers days in advance just to gratify the curiosity of an archduchess. This action provoked an international incident—not the last in his experience.

After his three-year tour of duty he worked his way back as an interpreter. He was still inveighing against the exploitation of immigrants and expressing his disgust with the middlemen or *padrones* who took what they could get from corporations and hired labor at sweatshop prices.

As an interpreter in night court and later as an attorney LaGuardia helped the poor clients, men and women, who came his way. He reminds us, in passing, of the very different kind of treatment wayward girls receive at the Florence Crittenden Home. During these years familiar figures cross his path—Felix Frankfurter prosecuting operators in the white-slave trade; Meyer London, Sam Gompers, Sidney Hillman engaged in the early struggles of organized labor. LaGuardia helped them to secure fair treatment for pickets by the police authorities.

He enrolled in the Republican Party in New York on the theory that a minority party must be cleaner than the majority party. He records the story of a Republican big shot who apologized to a Tammany leader for LaGuardia's election to Congress. As he came into the clubhouse expecting congratulations, he heard a snatch of a telephone conversation. "No, Joe, we didn't double-cross you; we didn't do anything for this fellow. You just can't control him."

LaGuardia's happiest years were those he spent in Congress. But war came and he could not be left out of it. His service abroad was an interlude in what was becoming a very full public career. He had to do much more than fly Caproni bombers over the Austrian lines. He was required to persuade the Italians, by the force of his personality, that a whole army of American doughboys was landing.

The book ends with his return to New York. Fortunately the story is to be completed by M. R. Werner, an experienced writer familiar with all the LaGuardia records. Meanwhile these pages reveal the molding of a man who was always on the attack and yet who could not hate people. He hated only their wickedness. He made enemies, but even these must grant that he was driven by a desire to right wrongs and discover truth.

NEWBOLD MORRIS

Phoenix

ESCAPE FROM THE PIT. By Renya Kulkielko. Foreword by Ludwig Lewisohn. Sharon Books. $2.50.

ASHES AND FIRE. By Jacob Pat. International Universities Press. $3.50.

COOPERATIVE PALESTINE. The Story of Histadrut. By Samuel Kurland. Foreword by Joseph Schlossberg. Published by Sharon Books for the National Committee for Labor Palestine. $3.

AS SOON as we get around to drawing up lists of books for burial in atom-bomb-proof caches to assist some future historian, I shall nominate "Escape from the Pit" for inclusion. This artless account of the experiences of a young Polish Jewess between the years 1939 and 1944 is not literature. Nothing in the story has been heightened,

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selected, or subdued. It is what we have come to regard as the typical chronicle of Jewish life in a Polish ghetto and concentration camp under the Nazis. In this way six million Jews existed and perished. Less typical is the manner of the narrator's survival.

I met Renya in Palestine in 1945 and know how large a part was played by her resourcefulness and courage, as well as her blond hair and snub nose. However, it is not the happy ending which makes this book significant. In a sense the accident of individual survival in so vast a tragedy is irrelevant.

What makes "Escape from the Pit" such rich source material for some future Dante or Gibbon is the overwhelming picture which it gives of Every Jew's pilgrimage to the extermination center, and its companion picture of Everyman, the average Pole, Ukrainian, or German. How did Everyman react to the knowledge of the crematoriums? For the most part he collaborated in the murder program passively out of fear, sometimes actively out of greed. The spectacle of seventeen-year-old Renya hounded and denounced by neighbors, themselves the victims of Germans, is one of the fearful aspects of this record.

There were times when Everyman risked his life to help the tortured Jews. Renya tells this, too. And she has a vignette of a German soldier which bears repetition. A family of Jewish children had been discovered by a Nazi: "Even though mother hid us well, he found us all. Stealthily he gave each of us a small slice of bread and ordered us to hide again for if another German were to come in, he would surely kill us. He laughed, and tears stood in his eyes."

Renya was a member of a Zionist youth group and as such was active in bolstering morale and organizing the foredoomed resistance within the ghettos. Her account of the heroic role of the Zionist cells with their dual motto of "To live with honor—to die with honor" forms a somber prelude to the more hopeful present struggle in Palestine, of which the author is again a part.

Renya's "Aryan" appearance qualified her to act as messenger between the various Polish ghettos and to smuggle munitions. She reached the Warsaw ghetto when it was already in its death throes. Unable to get in, she watched the unequal battle. When the flames finally engulfed the Jewish fighters on the roof tops, a Polish woman watching from a window outside the ghetto wall "stripped the garments off her body, shouting that there was no God in heaven if He could see all this and remain silent."

In "Ashes and Fire" Jacob Pat takes up the story where Renya leaves off—amid the ashes and rubble of the Warsaw ghetto. He revisited Poland at the end of the war to discover what kind of life the Jewish survivors were reconstituting in the graveyard of Poland, which once held three and a half million Jews.

Pat has none of Renya Kulkielko's terrifying artlessness. He is a finished and eloquent writer, and his sketches of Jewish life in post-war Poland are vivid and moving. As we move among the survivors and hear their histories, we are in hell again, but in a more organized and therefore less frightening hell. The moral chaos of a dissolving world is more surely reflected in Renya's unaccented, child-like paragraphs.

And the new life? The tiny, struggling communities that Pat revisits in the once flourishing Jewish centers of Poland contain two groups—those who are trying desperately to emigrate, chiefly to Palestine, and the obstinate few who are determined to remain in Poland for practical or ideological reasons. The latter are largely one-time members of the *Bund*, the Jewish Socialist organization which always opposed Zionism. As one of them puts it: "The Labor Zionists have founded a training cooperative. . . . We, on the other hand, do not believe in a cooperative which people constantly dream about leaving."

However, Pat leaves no doubt that anti-Semitism is still virulent in the new Poland despite government efforts to stamp it out. Jews who returned to their home towns to be welcomed by their Gentile neighbors with greetings such as, "Are you still alive? Look, here's a kike that got away," have few illusions, but they are stubbornly beginning again. Cooperatives of Jewish tailors, carpenters, and bakers have been formed, and schools are being reopened.

One of the few bright spots is Reichenbach, the capital of Lower Silesia. In this former Germany territory, now a part of Poland, Jews are being resettled. Many of them are repatriates from Soviet Russia who find more hope in Silesia than in the Vilno or Warsaw of their birth.

In Reichenbach, at the clubhouse of the Polish Socialist Party, Pat saw Poles and Jews dancing together for the first time since his return to Poland. One young Pole who had been branded at Oswiecim offered a toast "to the memory of our Jewish comrades"; noting Pat's skepticism, he assured him: "Brother, comrade, believe me. We Socialists are not guilty in all this. I mean the Jews and the other things. . . . Believe me, I am ashamed of what is happening in our country."

Pat ventures no prophecy about the chances for a genuine Jewish revival in Poland. He does note as a healthy sign the tendency of Jewish workers to form producer cooperatives.

For a clearer understanding of the profound influence of the cooperative idea on the Jewish national movement one has the object lesson of Palestine. Samuel Kurland's "Cooperative Palestine" gives a solid, factual account of the development and ramifications of the Histadrut, the General Federation of Jewish Workers. One of the wonders of Zionist colonization is its union of social idealism with national resurgence. The Histadrut, the prime instrument of the reconstruction of Palestine, is laying the foundation of a genuine cooperative society in the feudal Middle East. Kurland's description of the various types of urban and rural collective settlements, of the consumers' and producers' cooperatives, and of other pioneer experiments of the Histadrut for the creation of a labor commonwealth is the most comprehensive study to date and brings

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together a great deal of otherwise scattered information.

The practical success of such "utopian" experiments as the voluntary collective farms is a part of the dynamic of Labor Zionism. It may not be amiss to mention that Renya Kulkielko, like others who escaped, is now a member of a collective farm in Galilee.

MARIE SYRKIN

In Communist China

TWO YEARS WITH THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS. By Claire and William Band. Yale University Press. $4.50.

CLAIRE AND WILLIAM BAND are obviously cautious and scientific-minded academic people—Mr. Band is a British physicist and at the time of Pearl Harbor was teaching at Yenching University in Peking. On twenty minutes' notice they escaped the Japanese and spent 1942 and 1943 in the Chinese Communist Border Region and at Yenan. It would be difficult to find more impartial observers of Chinese communism in this period, and certainly none could be found with more direct experience.

Their book, based on a day-by-day diary, is partly a travel account—they walked 365 miles in the first four weeks and 1,000 miles altogether—and partly a record of the persons and organizations which they saw leading the North China resistance against Japan. Their interviews with Communist leaders and inspection of the Yenan community confirm in general the reports of the various journalists who saw Yenan a bit later, in 1944. Their unhappy disillusionment over the atmosphere of wartime Chungking in 1944 is also similar to that of Western correspondents.

The sobering thing about this straightforward personal account is its revelation, quite without any strong political bias, of the strength and institutional soundness of the Communist-controlled people's movement in North China, which some Americans now feel we must fight. Perversion of ideals and deterioration of conduct may have operated to give the Chinese Communist revolution a different character in the five years since these observers saw it. We know, for example, that American "imperialism" has been successfully substituted for Japanese imperialism as the people's enemy. But the ingredients of the Chinese Communists' success story stand forth clearly from this unimpassioned, factual volume, and we have not much reason to believe that time has diminished the potency of the "liberation" movement created from these ingredients.

Here are some of the elements of revolution of which the Bands saw specific, typical examples in operation from day to day: in military strength, the success with which the Eighth Route Army secured peasant cooperation, and the success also with which it met the "caterpillar-eating-leaves strategy" of Japanese blockhouse encirclement with a "bird-eating-caterpillar" counter-strategy of attrition and mobility. Socially, they noted the Chinese Communists' achievement in organizing resistance "through cultural reconstruction of the peasant population"—the emancipation of women, the spread of literacy, the enlistment of youth, and the discovery and training of human talent to meet the immediate practical needs of the community. As a physics teacher William Band was at once impressed with the vigor and ingenuity of highly trained urban technicians in applying their technology to rural improvement. In economic warfare he saw the battle for production being won through schemes for mutual help and cooperation and labor projects managed through mass associations. Public health and the spread of modern administration in local government were being pushed by Chinese patriots, some of whom had been in Dr. James Yen's rural reconstruction movement at Ting Hsien before the Japanese invasion.

After fifteen years' experience in China the Bands seem to have been thoroughly immune to propaganda and blandishments, both in Yenan and Chungking. They spent most of the time training technicians to fight Japan; they avoided local politics and have little to say about politics or ideology. But the contrast between what they saw and heard in Communist China and in Kuomintang China serves to remind us once again that our China problem is not simple and that we are not yet on the road to solving it.

J. K. FAIRBANK

The Inner Heart

THE PORTABLE CHEKHOV. Edited by Avrahm Yarmolinsky. The Viking Press. $2.

CHEKHOV does not seem to be in fashion these days; he is seldom mentioned by the rather more fashionable "new critics." Perhaps his work, complex as it is, is deficient in "calculated complexity"; perhaps its abundance of the social and the human renders it impure.

Yet to return to his stories is to find delight in the recognition that his work persists as a resilient and implicative literary structure, approaching if not quite attaining the level of prime greatness. If we view literature as a "criticism of life" and understand that phrase to suggest an inclusive attempt imaginatively to order and cast the materials of experience, then Chekhov's stories have not faded; they are beyond fashion and even suggest an oblique sort of contemporary relevance. No doubt some will view a link between art and contemporaneity as critical heresy, but, with whatever risk, we must acquiesce in the link. Otherwise we thin literature and coarsen life. Of necessity criticism is always impure.

Chekhov has fared rather badly in the Western world. When critics wrote that he was "humane" they allowed a marginal impression that they meant sentimental; when they wrote that he was "compassionate and skeptical" they often unwittingly suggested that he was droopy, slack, and addicted to tea-cup philosophizing. All this is the fault of

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the critics who, willy-nilly, read the stories in the light of Stanislavsky's approach to the plays; it has nothing to do with Chekhov. One is reminded of the anecdote in Gorky's memoirs: a lady spoke to Chekhov in "the Chekhov way" ("living is a bore . . . everything is so gray . . . the soul is filled with weariness.") Chekhov ridiculed this as "a disease . . . *morbus pretendialis.*"

The odd truth is, however, that most of the weary descriptives are accurate: Chekhov *is* humane and compassionate and skeptical. But since he is an artist he does not deliver these attitudes to the reader's doorstep as arranged bundles; they exist only within the structure of the stories themselves and can legitimately be used as descriptives only after one has taken the critical journey.

There is nothing Rousseauian in Chekhov's humanity and nothing of that cloying and bathetic enthusiasm for "little people" that was so often the spring of his English-language disciples and has recently been favored by our psychoanarchists. Nor is there any "compassion for the meek"—Chekhov is not a Christian.

The humanity of Chekhov's writing proceeds from at least two major sources—a philosophical attitude and a matured relationship to his material. Chekhov's universe is plural: it contains an immense diversity of human types, experiential data, natural phenomena. Even if we grant that it is a gray universe, we must still admit that it contains an infinite number of shades of gray. In this plural universe there is one unifying image—man as sufferer, man whose vocation, beginning, and end is suffering. The inner relationships of this universe are shifting, blurred, troubled—though Chekhov was a master at noting class and social status—for who, after all, can be certain where one man stands with regard to another or all with regard to nature and God?

Only one thing is certain: there is a place for everyone and everything in the Chekhovian world; whatever we may be, we all belong; this world has, if not many mansions, then innumerable shacks. In this ethical insistence upon place, possession, and link is the binding philosophical sensibility that runs through Chekhov's stories. This is the humanity, not of shallow liberal tolerance, but of mature skeptical conviction. Dostoevski said that once God is denied there is no limit to what man may do, but Chekhov seems to insist that precisely when God is denied, is man to limit what he may do. And the first maxim of limitation is: Do not exclude another man.

While this ethic is the source of Chekhov's inspiration, there is something quite different in its foreground. Chekhov's greatest artistic achievement is the relationship he establishes to his material. With uncanny certainty he neither dominates it nor surrenders to it, neither obliterates it nor allows it to obliterate him. Never does his personality abruptly intrude on the narrative, as so often and so disastrously occurs in present-day writing; in Chekhov, personality and narrative interpenetrate, remaining separate but linked. This dynamic equilibrium between creator and created makes impossible that fatal sense of bifurcation between life and literature that again afflicts so much of present-day writing. For in Chekhov one is never disturbed by a disparity between the given and the created: the given is transmuted into the created: experience is no longer evident, for it has been fused into art. Where this equilibrium tends to become too perfect, as in the plays, there results a kind of stasis; but the stories are almost always sufficiently charged with inner dynamism to avoid that lapse.

Chekhov thereby negotiates one of the supreme triumphs open to the creative artist. The very elimination of his personality from the surface of his work permits it to fuse into the writing's subterranean movements and thus emerge in full command. Where a direct statement of personality would be trite, its literary projection is overwhelming.

In the actual mechanism of his stories Chekhov's humanity is realized by references to two poles of implication: what may be called the Inner Heart and the Natural Scene. Chekhov is unable to approach the actual without suggesting, by however unobtrusive a reference, the potential. In his universe man is never a finished entity: whatever he is, he may still become otherwise. Hence there is always the muted appeal to the Inner Heart, to what man may develop from within himself. This tension within the human structure is reinforced by a constant obbligato of references to the Natural Scene. Narrowly skirting the pathetic fallacy, Chekhov's stories are full of simple, sustained nature imagery which serves as tongueless chorus to the narrative (nature as seen in its actual "natural" self, not as it is often naively conceived). These two points of possibility, the Inner Heart and the Natural Scene, provide relief from Chekhov's otherwise prevalent skepticism.

Formally the notion of the Inner Heart seems to bear considerable resemblance to attitudes developed in E. M. Forster's novels. Yet it would be difficult to imagine two more different realizations of a similar preconception. Chekhov is never as impatient with his characters as Forster and never manipulates them as Forster does; Chekhov is less detached but more objective. Forster may be friendly, but Chekhov is a friend.

For all this, Chekhov, though his talent would certainly permit him, does not reach the peaks of the very greatest art. It is doubtful that he could ever have found the breadth of social observation of Tolstoy, but one suspects that he might have ventured, had he so willed, into the dark of the mind and the murk of the unconscious, as did Dostoevski. One novelette, "Ward No. 6"—available in the Portable Russian Reader—reinforces this possibility. But Chekhov seems deliberately to have cut himself off from this final greatness, to have been unwilling to *abandon* himself.

Viking has not done well by Chekhov. Mr. Yarmolinsky is an arid critic and a timid, unimaginative editor. Why did he find it necessary to choose from

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Chekhov's eight hundred stories four that also appear in the Modern Library? And why include such over-anthologized pieces as "The Kiss"? Chekhov deserves better. IRVING HOWE

Rimbaud in English

FOUR POEMS BY RIMBAUD. Translated by Ben Belitt. Alan Swallow. $1.75.

THE four poems are good ones: Poets at Seven, First Communion, The Drunken Boat, and Memory. Mr. Belitt's point of departure is also good. He measures his task as a translator by the impossibility of its perfect accomplishment. Translating a poem in one language into a poem in another language is like working the same miracle twice, which in the nature of miracles can't be done. Only a second, and different, miracle can, and once in a blue moon does, actually occur. There is nothing wrong with Mr. Belitt's method either. He has supplied literal renderings which appear opposite the French originals. Preceding these are the translations, which, with an honesty that sets him apart from most translators, Mr. Belitt states "are to be read in their own right as English poems."

Unfortunately the English poems are not good enough to be read for themselves. Here and there single lines and stanzas succeed in giving the meaning of the originals and in sounding at the same time like poetry; but as complete poems they fail to do just that. Aside from general imprecision of sound and diction, Mr. Belitt's fatal mistake was to translate the poems into anapestic pentameter—and regular anapests at that—in order to convey Rimbaud's lushness of sound and movement. At first thought anapests seem right. But in the originals the tension between the hallucinated and the colloquial holds everything together, creating the life of the poetry which resolves the tension. In their total effect the anapests smother and dissolve the tension. They mash Rimbaud's images into a Swinburnean glut, sometimes even whipping them up to a Kiplingesque canter. Moreover, English doesn't take well to anapests; a long lyric in anapests has hardly ever been done successfully.

Lines like "And evening, dark pirate, disembarks in a cirrus of gold" are all too few, as are stanzas like the successful rendition of the last one of "Drunken Boat." Much more common are such translations as "Picking a quarrel and cruising about without drawers!" for the famous "Car elle ne portait jamais de pantalons." And *punaises* are not lice—as Mr. Belitt should know from Rimbaud's "Les Chercheuses de Poux."

Note on Poets at Seven: see Matisse's Piano Lesson (1916) at the Museum of Modern Art. H. P. LAZARUS

How to Buy Insurance

INSURANCE AND YOUR SECURITY. By E. Albert Gilbert. Rinehart and Company. $3.

WHEN it comes to the choice of a life-insurance policy, most of us are at the mercy of agents. We assume that the agent, by virtue of his training and experience, is an expert whose advice can be depended upon. Unfortunately, many agents are quite incapable of offering sound, disinterested counsel. And even those who are qualified are inescapably biased in favor of their wares. Disinterested advice, therefore, such as is presented in E. Albert Gilbert's little book, should be welcomed by all men who take the protection of their families seriously and are not afraid of a few mathematical complexities. Mr. Gilbert's practical handbook should save many people hundreds of dollars. The author recognizes that everybody's insurance requirements differ, and that there is wide variation in the cost and degree of protection provided by the policies of the major companies. He not only tells us what to look for in selecting a policy but presents tables showing the relative costs of the policies sold by the different companies.

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tion. While the strictures are for the most part justified, such chapter headings as The Coming Gouge of the Policyholders and The Failure of State Regulation seem unnecessarily frightening. It can hardly be denied that private insurance is unnecessarily expensive for the little man or that the protection offered is faulty in many respects. But it is doubtful whether federal regulation, desirable though it may be, would make for any substantial improvement in the situation. We should frankly face the fact that private insurance is an anachronism. The pooling of the risks inherent in modern life—particularly the protection of the family—is a social function that can be handled effectively only by the government. Until our social-security legislation is expanded to provide adequate survivors' insurance, federal regulation may help, but it would seem wise to avoid creating unnecessary anxiety about the safety and honesty of our private insurance companies.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Films

JAMES AGEE

BY THE time John McCarten's very favorable review of Carl Dreyer's "Day of Wrath" appeared in the *New Yorker,* the picture was through, at the Little Carnegie. It quite possibly wasn't liked during its short run; but it appears to have been killed at the outset by the daily reviewers. Only two of them, Rose Pelswick and Archer Winsten, reviewed it favorably; the next day Winsten—who also stood practically alone for "Monsieur Verdoux" last year—wrote a valiant, sore article in the film's defense, and in contempt for the degenerate taste of most of his colleagues. In the Sunday *Times* for May 9 Bosley Crowther took a swing, in turn, at Winsten, and wrote of the film: "The tax of [Dreyer's] slow and ponderous tempo upon the average person's time is a rather presumptuous imposition for any motion-picture artist to make. Maybe the cultists can take it. But is it justified? Is it art?"

Hearing the slow movement of Beethoven's "Archduke" Trio, Mr. Crowther might find the tax of Beethoven's slow and ponderous tempo upon the average person's time—meaning, one supposes, *his* time—an equally presumptuous imposition, and might dismiss those who don't agree with him as "cultists," into the bargain; but he still would have said nothing which justified him in asking the rhetorical questions, "Is it justified? Is it art?" It is, after all, possible to use slowness as artfully as speed, in moving pictures as well as in music, and the reactions of the average person are seldom a good indication of how well or ill it has been used; and not even reviewers are necessarily any better qualified.

Winsten wrote me that he felt sure that if some exhibitor with a small overhead would reopen the picture, he could make a go of it. Crowther wrote much the same thing in his column: "Skeptics and outraged art lovers will have to catch it in the tea-spots"—by no chance, of course, to be confused with the Itsy-Bitsy Carnegie—"later on." No doubt they will go, and lap up the tea; meanwhile I suspect that a sustaining number of intelligent and unaffected human beings will wander in and enjoy the show. Winsten and McCarten think it is one of the best ever made. I don't care quite that much for it, but of the movies made during the past twenty years I think it is unquestionably one of the dozen or so best worth seeing. I'll write further of it, in the hope that *enough* favorable reviews may prompt some people to ask small-theater exhibitors about it, and may encourage some exhibitors to risk a few days of it, anyhow. I can at least guarantee them, and any prospective customers, that it is a hundred times better than the run of stuff that shows in the art theaters, genially indorsed by the reviewers who flick this one off their cuffs.

"Day of Wrath," which is set in seventeenth-century Denmark, is a study of the struggle between good and evil as waged among—and within—witches, those who burned them, and the members of an old man–young wife–stepson triangle. Movies seldom contain any material, except by inadvertence or head-on outrage, which can interest the morally curious; this one contains a good deal, and none of it is inadvertent or outrageous. I particularly respect the film's interest in the deeply entangled interproductiveness of good and evil among several people and within single people; its steep, Lutheran kind of probity—that is, its absolute recognition of the responsibility of the individual, regardless of extenuating or compulsive circumstances; its compassion; and its detachment.

Originally this was a novel. As I watched it I had to realize that it could still as easily be a novel, or a play; nevertheless, Carl Dreyer has done a very hard job beautifully. He has not only preserved an amount of psychological and moral complexity which isn't popularly supposed to be possible in movies; he has also made them very clear visually, as a rule by very simple means. I don't ordinarily like stuff that is shot in the dark or that depends on very slow movement, because these are ordinarily the first resources of the merely solemn, or pretentious, or arty, when they have nothing of what it takes except ambition. Even less do I ordinarily care for "art" references in camera work—approximations, or reproductions, of famous paintings, or a style derived from painting. I'm not sure I can entirely take this in Dreyer's film, though in general his sense of how and why to use what he wants to take from Rembrandt and others seems very just, modest, useful, clear of "culturalism" or mere weakness of personal style; and his one conspicuous derivation—from Rembrandt's "Lesson in Anatomy"—lends more than mere ironic vitality to the watching clergymen in a torture scene.

Dreyer's lighting, and pace, and sound—including his use of dialogue—I wholly respect. My impression is that, short of absurdity, he wants to work close to their respective absolutes of darkness, stasis, and silence, and never to deviate from these absolutes beyond the minimum that is justified. I don't think this is the only good way to work or necessarily the best; but I suspect for instance that Gluck, and Beethoven, in some of their finest music, were acutely aware of silence. I'm not implying that Dreyer has done anything here to approach their work; I do mean that the style he has worked out for this film has a severe, noble purity which very little else in movies or, so far as I know, in contemporary art can approach, or even tries to. By one seeing, anyhow, I don't think there is a single excess in word or lighting or motion, or a single exces-

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sive stopping-down of any of these. Dreyer appears to know and to care more about faces than about anything else; it seems to me a sound preference; and since he is served at worst by very good actors and faces and at best by wonderful ones, the finest things in this film are his close-ups. They are held longer than anyone else except Chaplin could dare or afford to hold them; and as a rule they convey the kind of intricate subtlety, mental and spiritual, which one can ordinarily expect to find only in certain kinds of writing.

In these long close-ups, as in much else that he does, Dreyer goes against most of the "rules" that are laid down, even by good people, for making genuine and good motion pictures. In a sense I have to admit that he is far out at the edge rather than close to the center of all that I think might be most productive and original. But there is only one rule for movies that I finally care about: that the film interest the eyes, and do its job through the eyes. Few movie-makers do that, few even of those who are generally well esteemed. Dreyer has never failed to, and I cannot imagine that he ever will. For that reason alone, even if I did not also respect him as one of the few moralists, and classicists, and incorruptible artists, in movies, I would regard him as a master and this film as a quiet masterpiece.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE one criticism to be made of the RCA Victor recording (Set 1202, $4.75) of Stravinsky's Divertimento from "Le Baiser de la fée" is that it gives us only part of the marvelous score which he contrived with Tchaikovsky's materials, and omits some of the most beautiful and expressive passages (among them the lovely waltz to which the boy and the bride look for each other in the mill scene, the sinister and powerful music for the boy's encounters with the fairy, the wonderful music of the final scene). It is not Victor that is responsible for this, but Stravinsky, who insisted on recording only the suite he made for concert performance years ago. On the other hand, there is additional pleasure from his characteristically clear and strong performance with the specially assembled orchestra (including a first horn who cannot manage the difficult solo in the Danses suisses perfectly); and for me the music brings moving recollections of imaginative, witty, and touching details of Balanchine's choreography and exquisite details of Danilova's performance.

I love some of Delius's works, but not the ones in the new Victor set (1185, $8.50): the early Piano Concerto, the earlier Marche Caprice, and the late "Song of the High Hills," which is written in the rich idiom of his maturity but is excessively amorphous in ideas and structure. Beecham's excellent performances with the Royal Philharmonic, the Luton Choir, and Betty Beecham, pianist, are well reproduced.

Handel's Concerto Opus 4 No. 6, which has been played as a work for harpsichord by Landowska and others, turns out to have been written for harp; and on this instrument the charming work is beautifully performed by Grandjany with a little orchestra under Morel. With it in the Victor set (1201, $4.75) are transcriptions for harp of Couperin's "Soeur Monique" and some unfamiliar old pieces that are very fine: Antoine Francisque's Pavane and Branslés and Gottfried Kirchoff's Aria and Rigaudon; and these too are beautifully played.

Another Victor set (1196, $6) offers tasteless playing by Elman and rough playing by the Chicago Symphony under Defauw—both coarsely reproduced—in Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto.

The Haydn Violin Concerto in C issued by Parlophone (Set 60, $7.35) is a work of little consequence—that little being concentrated in the slow movement—superbly performed by Simon Goldberg with the Philharmonia Orchestra under Susskind and excellently reproduced.

The Bach Concerto in C for two claviers reissued by Musicraft (Set 52, $4.05) is a dull work, which is not made any more engaging by the stolid performance of the Manuel and Williamson Harpsichord Ensemble. The recorded sound is good; surfaces are very noisy.

From Columbia two chamber works by Brahms: the Sonata Opus 99 for cello and piano, one of the worst of the works in which he tries to make bricks out of straw; and the Sonata Opus 108 for violin and piano, a work of better substance, but as synthetically contrived as the others. In the first Piatigorsky makes things worse with his gigantesque playing, which is coarsened by the recording (Set 590, $6.00); in the second Isaac Stern plays very well, but his tone comes off the records sharp and wiry (Set 730, $4.75). The piano parts, well done by Ralph Berkowitz and Alexander Zakin, are better reproduced.

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Letters to the Editors

The Efficient State

Dear Sirs: Though I know how precious space is in your publication at present, I hope you can find room for this brief clinical note. Gibbon writes in the second sentence of the fifth chapter of his "Decline and Fall": "It has been calculated by the ablest politicians that no state, without being soon exhausted, can maintain above the hundredth part of its members in arms and idleness." The army and navy of the United States today, including its clerical forces, which number nearly a million, comprise approximately 2 per cent of the total population of the country, or twice as many as Gibbon's "ablest politicians" calculated a nation could safely maintain. Since we not only support these great numbers with no trouble but are considering adding another million or so, it must be evident to the most obtuse that the modern state is infinitely more efficient than any Gibbon was acquainted with.

ASA M. HUGHES

Lansdale, Pa., May 13

The New Sipuel Case

Dear Sirs: When Ada Lois Sipuel (Mrs. Warren Fisher) appears on May 24 in the District Court of Cleveland County, Oklahoma—the same court in which her case against the Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma was first heard in July, 1946—the legal concepts, theories, and philosophy underlying her case will be so different from those on which it was originally based as to create a new Sipuel case entirely.

A new case has been built out of both necessity and choice. The necessity stems from weaknesses in the original case, which represented only an oblique attack on the segregation policies of the state of Oklahoma in the field of higher education; from the wavering of the United States Supreme Court in its *per curium* opinion of February 16, which followed its forthright decision on January 12 that Oklahoma must provide Miss Sipuel the same legal education as it provides for anyone else and must do it "as soon as it does for applicants of any other group"; and from the stubborn determination of Oklahoma to circumvent the spirit of the Supreme Court decision by throwing up a Jim Crow law school obviously inadequate and unequal.

These factors alone would have dictated abandonment of the original argument, which was that Miss Sipuel was entitled to attend the Oklahoma University law school for the primary reason that the state had failed to provide any other. Attorneys for the plaintiff perceived at once that to pursue this theory further would result in endless litigation, for even if the Jim Crow school were proved unequal numberless times, the addition of a chair or desk or faculty member would give basis for another claim to equality which only another court action could disprove.

But the major reason for deciding to revamp the Sipuel case was the fact that Thurman Marshall, the plaintiff's chief counsel, had found a superior approach demonstrated in the sensational Sweatt case in Texas. A Houston Negro, Heman Marion Sweatt, had applied to enter the law school of the University of Texas. In his case it was decided to abandon all subterfuge and indirection and mount a frontal attack on segregation *per se*. Counsel argued that he was entitled to enter the law school not because no other "equal" school existed, but because *equality was impossible under discrimination;* no school in Texas except an unsegregated state university could satisfy the applicant's demand for equal education.

The same argument will be presented in the case of Sipuel vs. Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma when the Cleveland County district judge bangs his gavel on May 24. As in the Sweatt case, expert witnesses—among them the country's leading anthropologists, sociologists, and law-school heads—will give testimony attempting to establish the invalidity of segregation in any form as legally repugnant to the Fourteenth Amendment.

In its February 16 opinion the Supreme Court somewhat ingloriously sidestepped by holding that the case "did not present the issue whether a state might not satisfy the equal-protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment by establishing a separate law school for Negroes," and technically speaking, the "old" Sipuel case did allow this latitude of interpretation. But the new version will have the obvious primary purpose of securing equal education for Negroes by leveling segregation barriers in higher education in Oklahoma.

Will it be successful in this? Have attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People actually been able to forge a legal instrument capable of breaching Jim Crow walls heretofore looked on as impregnable? Probably so; possibly not. But one thing is certain: the Sipuel case, whatever its outcome, will drag the skeleton of Jim Crow farther out of the closet and into the light of day. As for Miss Sipuel, she wants to get on with her education while she is young enough to profit from it.

DONALD JONES

Dallas, Texas, May 15

[*Mr. Jones is Southwest Regional Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. With headquarters in Dallas, the region comprises the states of New Mexico, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Texas. Previously, Mr. Jones was National Field Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., and editor of the New Orleans* Sentinel, *a Negro weekly newspaper.*]

Race Is Only a Badge

Dear Sirs: Fundamentally it is not the color issue that causes the raucous bellowing of frightened poll-tax politicians. Any other distinguishing hereditary physical feature—a perfectly hairless head, say—would do just as well. Historically race is important only in serving as an indelible badge that permanently identifies a minority group and thus makes its exploitation hereditary. No need for any improvised arm bands here.

Because the Negro is, generally speaking, so easily identified, the abolition of free enterprise in chattel slavery did not mean the abolition of the exploitation of the Negro. Rather it made him a sort of communal property to be used by all who prefer to live by other men's labor.

Paradoxically, the Southern racists are not disturbed by race. For generations they have lived with it, eaten with it, slept with it, and helped to procreate it. No degree of proximity to the Negro bothers them. But it is highly essential,

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mandatory, in fact, that their relations with Negroes be in conformity with the social pattern of white dominance and Negro submission.

What these racists, these traffickers in human degradation, fear is not race but the destruction of a pattern of human exploitation from which they have long profited. They know, as everyone else knows, that nothing less than the power of the federal government can destroy, or even seriously threaten, this vicious pattern.

BRYAN FULKS

Bell, Cal., May 9

Douglas for President

Dear Sirs: We urge all liberals in all parties to join the "Douglas-for-President" movement. Douglas is the candidate who can unify the divided liberal forces, and liberal unity is urgently needed if this country is not to drift into a new period of reaction.

Few doubt that his record is excellent, his qualifications outstanding, but some are justifiably curious to know how he stands on current issues. We urge all people to read his recent speeches—the "Altgeld" speech on civil rights, the "Florida" speech on foreign policy. Here they will find an illuminating presentation of the democratic philosophy and a challenging, courageous program for democratic action.

Students-for-Douglas clubs are being set up at one after another of the New York colleges, and a nation-wide students-for-Douglas movement is being organized. In turn, we will join with "Democrats-for-Douglas" and other Douglas movements in an all-out drive to put Justice Douglas in the White House.

We need the help of the kind of people who are your readers. Our address is care of the New School for Social Research, 66 West Twelfth Street, New York City.

MURRAY KLIBANOFF,
President, Students-for-Douglas

New York, April 30.

An English Offer

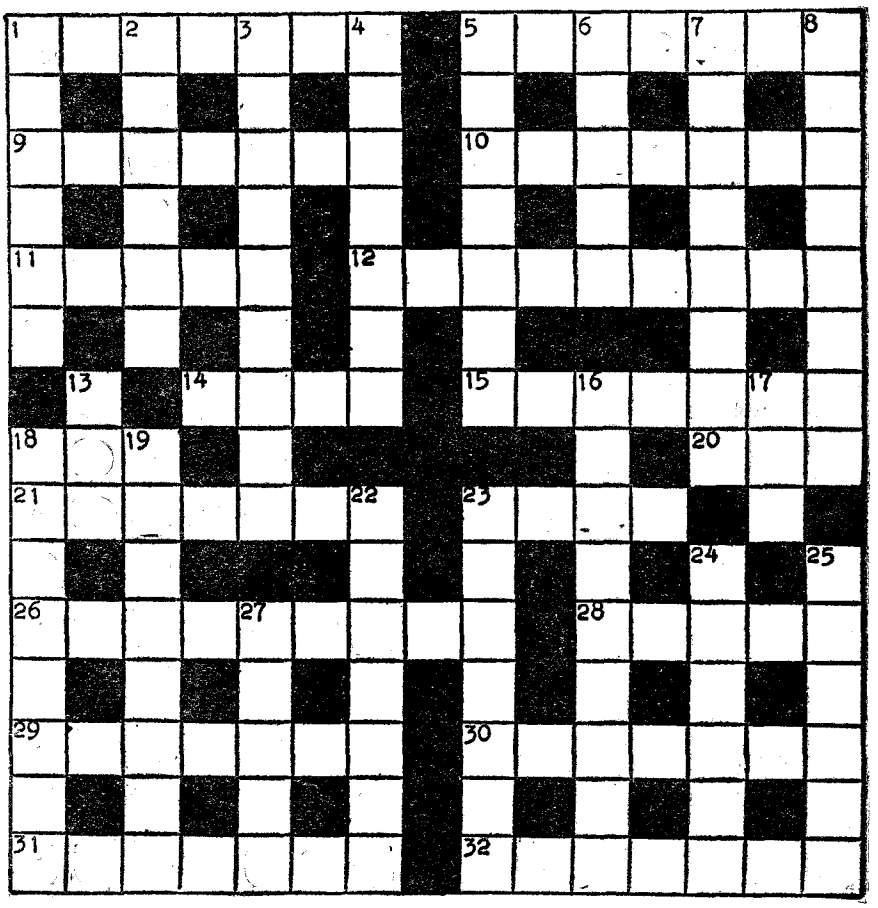
Dear Sirs: A friend of mine—other than the one with whom I exchange my copy of *The Nation* for his *New Statesman and Nation*—would like to do the same with one of your readers. If you know of any person interested, I shall be pleased to forward his name to England. My address is 179-12 145th Road.

FREDERICK J. UFHOLCZ, JR.

Springfield Gardens, N. Y. May 1

Crossword Puzzle No. 263

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 8 down, 18 across, 23 down, 28, 7, 13 and 11. Subject of a rather heterogeneous conversation. (2, 5, 3, 5, 3, 7–3, 2, 8, 3, 5)
5 Conglomerate. (7)
9 It rates on the stage, perhaps. (7)
10 Hundred-legged. (7)
11 See 1 across.
12 Shows statistics on a place in Brazil? (9)
14 and 15 There's a tavern where he wanted his grave to be like this. (4, 3, 4)
18 See 1.
20 Help wanted sign. (3)
21 No dread of this when completely embellished. (7)
23 This band gets around. (4)
26 A common complaint, said Pepys. (9)
28 See 1.
29 This means work to a peer. (7)
30 It's rude, after little interest is shown, to cut in. (7)
31 Fatness binds, naturally! (7)
32 Stores where the rangers appear. (7)

DOWN

1 Wizardly boats in the mountains? (6)
2 How to get stains out of clothes? (6)
3 Boss is upset when 17 gets involved in it. (9)
4 Chase after this if you want a run for your money. (7)
5 Where the two-humped camels came from. (7)
6 For example, relative in, but usually with out. (5)
7, 8, and 13. See 1 across.
16 Found in radish, watermelon, and the kitchen sink. (9)
17 Luncheon, but nothing in the way of a meal. (3)
18 Fold a raw animal like a hyena. (8)
19 Ed Ross is perhaps kept in the files of the F. B. I. (8)
22 Made of feathers or linen. (7)
23 See 1 across.
24 Former philosopher to dig up? (6)
25 Volunteers to make a serf of itself. (6)
27 One should take notice in the night before, and escape it. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 262

ACROSS:—1 RIGHT DRESS; 6 SCAB; 10 MONARCH; 11 BOSWELL; 12 ASPERATE; 13 ELOPE; 15 ASSAM; 17 STARBOARD; 19 PORTFOLIO; 21 EDGES; 23 NOBEL; 24 BOTHWELL; 27 LOCARNO; 28 ABETTOR; 29 SINE; 30 THREADBARE.

DOWN:—1 RAMP; 2 GENESIS; 3 TARGE; 4 REHEARSAL; 5 SABLE; 7 CREMONA; 8 BALDERDASH; 9 ASSEMBLE; 14 CAMPANILES; 16 MUFFLERS; 18 ABOUT FACE; 20 RUBICON; 22 GALATEA; 24 BOOTH; 25 WIELD; 26 ARNE.

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